

# THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. I.

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL, 1873.

No. 2.

## REVIEW OF CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

### INCREASE OF SALARIES.

The extraordinary action of the Forty-second Congress in passing a bill for the increase of salaries just at the close of its official term, and making the measure retroactive in relation to their own compensation, calls for more than the ordinary scrutiny applicable to public measures of equal importance.

That a Congress which, to say the least, has, in some respects, left a most unenviable record should, with its expiring gasp, thrust its own arms into the public treasury to the tune of more than a million of dollars for services for which the lawful compensation had been already paid, will certainly be a matter of surprise to the country at this time, and ultimately, unless we are mistaken, will come home to plague the men who have contributed to such a result.

The salaries provided by the act in question are as follows:

The President .....	\$50,000
The Vice-President.....	10,000
Chief Justice Supreme Court....	10,500
Justices Supreme Court, each....	10,000
Cabinet officers.....	10,000
Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury, State, and Interior..	6,000
Speaker of the House, after the present Congress .....	10,000
Senators, Representatives, and Delegates, including the present Congress.....	7,500

In this we raise no question as to the increase in the salaries of executive officers:

1st. Because they did not participate in the legislation; 2d. In regard to these the act is prospective only; and 3d. Because for this class of officers the advance will be more generally approved.

That exact justice may be done we present the record:

### Senate.

#### YEAS.

Alcorn,	Gilbert,	Pool,
Ames,	Goldthwaite,	Ransom,
Bayard,	Hamilton, (Tex.) Rice,	
Blair,	Hill,	Robertson,
Brownlow,	Hitchcock,	Sawyer,
Caldwell,	Lewis,	Spencer,
Cameron,	Logan,	Stewart,
Carpenter,	Machen,	Stockton,
Clayton,	Morrill, (Me.) Tipton,	
Cooper,	Norwood,	Tribull,
Davis,	Nye,	Vickers,
Flanagan,	Osborn,	West—33.

#### NAYS.

Anthony,	Ferry, (Mich.)	Ramsey,
Borenman,	Frelinghuysen,	Saulsbury,
Buckingham,	Hamilton, (Md.) Schurz,	
Cassidy,	Hamlin,	Scott,
Chandler,	Howe,	Sherman,
Conkling,	Kelley,	Sprague,
Corbett,	Morrill, (Vt.) Thurman,	
Cragin,	Patterson,	Windom,
Edmunds,	Pratt,	Wright—27.

#### For the bill.

Of the yeas, thirteen are Democrats or Liberal Republicans, being four more than the majority for the bill.

Ten were outgoing Senators, being one more than the majority for the bill.

Five outgoing Republicans and five outgoing Democrats voted for the bill.

Twenty-three Republicans and thirteen Democrats voted for the bill.

Twenty-six Southern Senators and ten Northern Senators voted for the bill.

*Against the bill.*

Twenty-one Republicans, six Democrats, three Southern Senators, twenty-four Northern Senators, two outgoing Senators only, twenty-five Senators whose terms continue.

*Vote in the House on the adoption of the conference report.*

YEAS.

Adams,	Hanks,	Prindle,
Averill,	Harmer,	Rainey,
Banks,	Harker,	Randall,
Bigby,	Harris,	Rice, (Ken.)
Bingham,	Hay,	Robinson,
Blair, (Mo.)	Hazelton, (N. J.)	Rogers, (N. Y.)
Boarman,	Herndon,	Rogers, (N. C.)
Boles,	Houghton,	Sargent,
Buckley,	Kendall,	Shanks,
Burdett,	King,	Sheldon,
Butler, (Mass.)	Lamison,	Sherwood,
Butler, (Tenn.)	Lampert,	Sloss,
Caldwell,	Lansing,	Snapp,
Carroll,	Leach,	Snyder,
Cobb,	Lowe,	Storm,
Cochlan,	Maynard,	Stoughton,
Conner,	McHenry,	Stowell,
Critcher,	McJunkin,	St. John,
Croosland,	McKee,	Sutherland,
Darrell,	McKinney,	Sypher,
Dickey,	McNeeley,	Taffee,
DuBose,	Meyers,	Thomas,
Duell,	Morey,	Townsend, (N. Y.)
Duke,	Morphis,	Turner,
Eldridge,	Myers,	Tuthill,
Elliott,	Negley,	Twichell,
Foster, (Penn.)	Niblack, (Fla.)	Voorhees,
Garfield,	Packard,	Waddell,
Garrett,	Parker,	Wallace,
Getz,	Peck,	Whitley,
Giddings,	Perce,	Williams, (Ind.)
Golladay,	Perry,	Wilson, (Ind.)
Griffith,	Platt,	Winchester,
Hancock,	Price,	Young—102.

NAYS.

Ambler,	Goodrich,	Palmer,
Archer,	Hale,	Parker, (N. H.)
Arthur,	Hambleton,	Pendleton,
Barber,	Handley,	Poland,
Barnum,	Harris, (Va.)	Roberts,
Beatty,	Havens,	Rusk,
Bell,	Hawley, (Ill.)	Sawyer,
Bird,	Hawley, (Conn.)	Scofield,
Blair, (Mich.)	Hay,	Session,
Bright,	Hazleton, (Wis.)	Shellabarger,
Buffington,	Hibbard,	Shoemaker,
Bunnell,	Hill,	Slater,
Burchard,	Hoar,	Slocum,
Campbell,	Holman,	Smith, (N. Y.)
Clarke,	Kellogg,	Smith, (O.)
Coburn,	Kerr,	Smith, (Vt.)
Conger,	Ketcham,	Speer,
Cotton,	Killinger,	Sprague,
Cox,	Lewis,	Starkweather,
Crebs,	Lynch,	Stevens,

Crocker,	Marshall,	Stevenson,
Davis,	McClelland,	Terry,
Dawes,	McCormick,	Townsend, (Pa.)
Donnan,	McCravy,	Upson,
Dox,	McGraw,	Walden,
Ames,	McIntyre,	Waldron,
Ely,	Merriam,	Warren,
Farnsworth,	Merrick,	Wells,
Finkelburg,	Monroe,	Wheeler,
Foster, (O.)	Niblack, (Ind.)	Willard,
Foster, (Mich.)	Orr,	Wilson—95.
Frye,	Packer,	

*For the increase—102.*

Fifty-two Republicans, fifty Democrats; fifty-five outgoing members; twenty-four Southern Republicans, thirty Southern Democrats.

*Against the increase—95.*

Sixty-two Republicans, thirty-three Democrats.

The united vote in the two houses is as follows:

*For the bill.*

Eighty-five Republicans, sixty-three Democrats; sixty-five outgoing members and Senators; eighty Southern Senators and members.

*Against the bill.*

Eighty-three Republicans, thirty-nine Democrats.

Keeping this analysis of the vote in view, it will not be difficult to fasten the responsibility of the measure upon the proper persons, and to find the controlling reason for its objectionable feature—back pay to a retiring Congress.

It is but fair to state, that there were those who sincerely believed the compensation of Congressmen to be inadequate; nor do we think that, in view of the abolition of the franking gratuity and mileage, the cost of Congressional proceedings under the new law will be greater than under the old system. But this fact—should it prove to be a fact—affords no excuse whatever for the seizure of a large sum by the retiring Congressmen beyond their stipulated and lawful compensation.

On this subject of salaries for public service there is a wide difference of opinion, some contending that Government pays an inadequate compensation for poor service; others, that the compen-

sation is sufficient and the service well performed.

A careful observation of many years leads to the conclusion that both these propositions contain some truth and some error; that in the aggregate the employés of the Government are as well, not to say better, paid than any others in the country, as compared with the service rendered, and that for efficiency, regularity, and integrity the service will not suffer by comparison with the personal or corporate management of any extensive private business. But there are inequalities in the service which are incident to the lapse of time and the growth of the country. These should be remedied by considerate, but never by retroactive legislation. And it is suggested that, inasmuch as the salaries of legislators, if raised at all, must be raised by their own votes, a decent regard for their own good names and the judgment of mankind would require the act to be prospective, and to become operative only after its sanction by a popular vote.

No Congress in recent years has been so much maligned by the partisan press as the one whose acts are under consideration; and, possibly, few would have withheld the ordeal better but for this last act of consummate folly contemporaneous with its dissolution.

During the term of the Forty-second Congress nearly the whole field of national affairs has passed in review before it, and much that is good and proper has received considerate and appropriate sanction. The peace of the country has been maintained, the prosperity of the people advanced, and all the necessary and ordinary provision made for the maintenance of all the functions of government.

#### A GENERAL VIEW.

All the general annual appropriation bills have been passed with—except the increase of pay above referred to—very few and unimportant objectionable features; and at the recent session the following bills having a general application: The bill repealing the franking

privilege; the bill for the revision and codification of the pension laws; the bill amendatory of the act codifying the postal laws; the bill amending and codifying the laws relating to mints and coinage; the bill reducing the internal revenue force; the bill for the revision of the statutes of the United States, the report to be made in December; the bill authorizing the construction of eight sloops of war; the bill providing for the sale of coal lands; the bill paying the awards of the Southern Claims Commission; the bill to carry into effect the articles of the treaty of Washington, relating to the fisheries; the bill providing for the deposit of the Geneva award in the Treasury of the United States—[a substitute for the House and Senate bill providing for the immediate distribution of the said award;] the joint resolution congratulating Spain on the establishment of a Republic; and many meritorious private and pension bills, and the following, which are of general interest: The bill providing for the segregation and sale of various classes of public lands; the bill leasing a portion of the Praesidio reservation for a public park; the bill abolishing coining charges; the bill defining the rights of settlers on public lands; the bill prohibiting contracts for coolie labor; the bill to expedite the survey of private land claims; the bill defining swamp lands; the bill dedicating public lands in California to homestead and preëmption settlement; the bill to provide for the entry of lands as agricultural unless specifically shown to be mineral; the bill for the relief of aged and infirm preëmption settlers; the bill for the relief of Mrs. Hutchings, of Yosemite; the bill amendatory of the shipping commissioner's act; the bill to prohibit contracts for servile labor; the bill to regulate the distillation of grapes; the bill placing Alaska Indians under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior; for payment of the Oregon Indian war claims; to aid in the construction of the Sutro tunnel; to encourage telegraphic communication with Asia; to encourage the boring of artesian

wells; to prohibit discrimination in railroad charges; to prevent the sale or use of special marks or other tokens in similitude of coins; granting one million acres of land to Nevada for school purposes; providing a general law for the incorporation of railroads in the Territories.

A very important bill to reduce the expenses of the Internal Revenue Department, and a great number of bills, authorizing the construction of bridges, granting right of way to railroads through the public domain, in relation to Indian affairs, the judiciary, the construction of public buildings, for the improvement of rivers and harbors, the erection of light-houses, and on various other subjects of general and local interest.

#### THE HARM PREVENTED.

But the Forty-second Congress will be remembered as much for what it omitted as for what it accomplished. There is no denying the fact that this Congress, and more especially the Senate, has stood like a wall of iron against numerous corrupt schemes for the depletion of the

public treasury. Among which may be mentioned the following:	
The bounty land bill, passed by the House .....	\$425,000,000
College land bill, also passed by the House.....	92,000,000
Steamship and ship-yard and tonnage subsidies.....	35,000,000
Two per cent, and recompensation of interest.....	35,000,000
Cotton tax refund.....	68,000,000
The salt works and other rebel claims, which would have created precedents for claims, amounting to...	25,000,000
Total estimated.....	\$680,000,000

The renewal of the sewing machine patents and other kindred schemes, which would have continued enormous taxes upon industry for the benefit of individuals and corporations, have also been prevented by the outgoing Congress.

It is to be regretted that men, who in the aggregate have done so well, should have closed their official career by an act of doubtful propriety and inexcusable selfishness.

## WORK OF THE FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS—THIRD SESSION.

#### INVESTIGATION COMMITTEES.

Since the count of the electoral vote for President and Vice-President, one of the principal features of the business of Congress has been the work of the investigating committees, which seem to increase in number as the session draws toward its close. During the present winter there have been appointed the following committees of investigation:

1. The Poland Committee, by the House to investigate charges against members of Congress for dealings of corruption in connection with the Union Pacific Railroad Company and the Credit Mobilier of America.

2. The Wilson Committee, by the House, to inquire into the state of these companies and ascertain the causes of failure on the part of the Union Pacific Railroad Company to pay the interest upon bonds due to the United States, now amounting to more than five millions of dollars.

3. In the Senate the Morrill commit-

tee, to inquire into the conduct of members of that body in relation to the same subjects.

4. The Frelinghuysen committee, to inquire into charges of bribery against Senator Pomeroy in recent efforts to secure his return to the United States Senate by the Legislature of Kansas.

And besides these—

5. The Standing Committee of the Senate on Privileges and Elections have been investigating similar charges against Senator Caldwell, from the same State. And also the political condition of affairs in the State of Louisiana.

#### CASE OF SENATOR CALDWELL.

This last committee has made a report in the case of Senator Caldwell to the effect that his election was fraudulent, and that he has no legal title to his seat in the Senate. It remains to be seen whether his exclusion will be enforced by the action of the Senate.

#### CASE OF LOUISIANA.

The same committee have also re-

ported in part upon the state of facts in Louisiana, exhibiting an extent of demoralization and corruption in the primary meetings of the people and at the ballot-box, which is saddening to the heart of every honest man and upright citizen. Though this committee have not yet concluded their examination as to the admission of a Senator from that State, and also upon the question whether Louisiana has at present a republican form of government, enough has been disclosed to raise the gravest doubts upon that subject, and to render the action of Congress and the President exceedingly difficult and embarrassing.

#### TRUE POLICY.

The Republican party may suffer more or less from these exposures, but there is one method of redemption. Let it, with its own hand of power, cleanse the Augean Stables! Doing this it will still in the future, as in the past, prove its vital character and mission, and will carry with it the hearts and hopes of the people.

There is no fear that honest men will not be ultimately vindicated. A cloud may rest upon them for a time, but the sun of integrity will finally dispel it, and show to the world the value of a virtue that is incorruptible and unshaken.

The developments still to be made by committees that have not yet reported may tend to this result.

#### THE EXCLUSION OF THE VOTE OF LOUISIANA.

As the question is now presented, the Congress must determine whether it will go back of the State documents certifying the recent choice of certain persons to the electoral college of that State and inquire into the facts of the alleged election. This proposal, however, would seem to conflict with the doctrine heretofore universally accepted that Congress has no power under the Constitution to canvass the returns of an election and count the votes to determine who have been elected as Presidential electors, but that the mode of choosing such electors is left exclusively to the States.

In the recent count of the vote for President and Vice President in the convention of the two Houses of Congress, the vote of Louisiana was in fact excluded. The question now arises, upon what ground was the vote of this State rejected? It is claimed that the documents certifying the election of what are known as the Warmoth Presidential electors, were in due form as required by the law of Congress of 1792, and that in the recent count Congress went behind those documents, and in defiance of its own law of 1792 disfranchised the State. But on the other hand the following propositions have been urged in reply:

1. Congress alone can fix by law what shall be held as official evidence of the election of Presidential electors in each State, and consequently no State can assume to itself this Congressional prerogative.

2. The law of 1792 contemplates a lawful election by the people of Presidential electors in each State, of which the certificate of the Executive authority of the State shall be the official evidence; otherwise the Governor of any State might certify to the choice of persons to its electoral college irrespective of any election by the people whatsoever, and thus the rights of the people would be denied by the stroke of a pen.

3. As the object and intent of the law of 1792 was to secure a lawful election by the people of Presidential electors in each State, of which the Executive certificate should be the official evidence, it is the duty of Congress in certain cases to inquire whether such Executive certificate is valid before it can be received as official evidence.

a. As when it is alleged to be a forgery by any respectable and influential numbers of persons.

b. As when it is alleged by public rumor to be a fraudulent certificate.

c. As when it is alleged by a contesting political party to be an official cover for corrupt, illegal, and disorderly proceedings.

4. In all such cases Congress would fail.

in its duty as required by the very substance and spirit of the law of 1792 if it should receive the Executive certificate of any State without scrutiny.

5. In the present case that scrutiny, though diligently exercised, had not enabled Congress to reach any ultimate conclusion at the time prescribed by law for counting the vote in joint convention.

6. In the action of the count the vote of Louisiana went by default *ex necessitate*. It was the same in effect as if the Executive certificate had not reached Congress in time for the count.

Putting it upon this ground, the State of Louisiana must be held to have been denied its suffrage in the count of the Presidential vote by its own fault, and not through any denial of its rights by Congress. Indeed, Congress could not in the premises receive the Executive certificate from the State of Louisiana without sanctioning the most open and unblushing political frauds and disorders which had been urged on its attention by the most indubitable proofs. To maintain that such a certificate, given under such circumstances, constitutes "the official evidence" required by the law of 1792 is a mockery alike of reason and justice.

Yet, as the Executive certificate of the State is *prima facie* evidence of the election, in giving it the requisite scrutiny, there should be, as there was in this case, a concurrence of both houses of Congress in order to reject it.

#### TRANSPORTATION OF PRODUCE.

The subject of transportation for industrial products, and of the means of intercommunication between the different portions of the country by railroad and water channels, has recently claimed much attention in the House, and elicited many important and interesting facts. The first twenty miles of railroad was built in this country in 1830, and two years later the first locomotive engine was put upon the track. In the last forty years 61,460 miles of railroad have been built at a round cost of \$2,400,000,000, and there are at the present time projected

and in progress of construction 12,000 miles in addition. In these huge undertakings the Government has been generous almost to a fault. But it has not looked with an equal favor upon the improvement and enlargement of water channels. And it is argued that when the nation shall adopt a system of internal and foreign transportation by water channels commensurate with the necessities of the country, we shall then be able to compete successfully with the other great markets of the world, both at home and abroad. For example, it now costs about thirty-five cents per bushel to ship wheat from the Baltic to Liverpool, and about forty-five cents from the Black Sea provinces. And it is urged that we should be able, by the introduction of a proper system, to send wheat and other products from the Mississippi valley to Liverpool for thirty cents per bushel, and by thus securing a large portion of European trade, cause gold to come in rather than to flow out of the country. During the last year the States of what is known as the northwest territory, with not one-sixth of the soil under cultivation, produced three-quarters of all the cereals raised in the entire country. These eleven States—Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, with the Territory of Dakota, produced 225,000,000 of bushels of wheat to 86,383,000 bushels produced in all the other States. And the probabilities are that in this region there will be produced, as will be shown by the census of 1880 of the five great staples, an amount as follows:

1. Wheat .....	(bushels)...	500,000,000
2. Corn .....	(bushels)...	2,600,000,000
3. Hogs.....(head)....		42,000,000
4. Cattle.....(head)....		25,000,000
5. Sheep .....	(head)...	67,000,000

giving over one hundred million pounds of wool.

But in addition to the surplus of these staples must be considered the production of cotton, sugar, iron, coal, and oil, and many other materials of commerce furnished in different sections of the

country. And remembering the various foreign markets which are now open in Turkey, Portugal, Australia, Columbo, the West Indies, Brazil, and Venezuela, and which would give to us in the total a gigantic trade, there seems to be a paramount force in the arguments of those who favor the prompt action of Congress on this question of the industrial prosperity of the country.

The debate upon the subject has taken a wide range, involving many important phases of our national condition. For the nine years past the excess of trade against us, as nearly as can be ascertained, amounts to \$810,000,000, and our foreign indebtedness to-day no doubt reaches the enormous sum of \$1,000,000,000, and this amount is said to be increasing at the rate of \$100,000,000 per annum. There can be no doubt that the languishing condition of our commerce forms one of the saddest features of our material condition as a people, and Congress must do something to restore to this country its just balance of trade if it would not incur the charge of having, by its neglect of such colossal interests, suffered a signal detriment to come to the Republic.

#### NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

The naval appropriation bill is now under discussion in the Senate. A number of amendments are being proposed, which may materially modify its features. As it came from the House it appropriated about six and a quarter millions for eighty-five hundred employés, enlisted men, and officers. About two-thirds of this sum goes to pay officers, and the balance to pay the enlisted men, of whom there are some eight thousand. The principal debate in the Senate thus far has been on the striking out of an item for the salaries of certain clerks in the navy-yards, whom it is proposed to dismiss. Objection being made to this proposal, that the work of these clerks is necessary, the remedy suggested is to give the President authority to appoint retired officers of the navy to active duty when required. The age of retirement is sixty-two years. The heads

of bureaus are appointed by law, like any other civil officer, for a period of four years, and confirmed by the Senate. Confusion arises from the mixed character of these appointments, and the diverse operation of the civil and naval regimen. But the great difficulty in regard to the entire Navy Department in time of peace springs from it being overcrowded with officers, especially midshipmen, who are annually thrown upon the department by the graduations from the Academy. Whoever shall be able to devise a scheme for utilizing the full strength and capacity of the naval arm of the country will prove a signal national benefactor.

#### PENSION LAWS.

The House bill, which proposes to revise, consolidate, and amend the numerous pension laws passed in the last ten years, was taken up and explained in the Senate. Thirty years ago the entire annual disbursement was less than two millions, while at the present time it is over thirty millions of dollars. To-day the Pension Office, employing a clerical force of three hundred and forty persons, stands in the front rank of the bureau system. The business arising from the constant changes made in the Revolutionary pension system, from the law pensioning the survivors of the war of 1812, from the Mexican war, and finally from the war of the rebellion, has largely increased the duties of the Pension bureau. In 1843 the number of pensioners on the rolls was 14,109; in 1872 the number on the rolls was 113,954. Every item of pension expenditure is now kept in the home office, so that defalcation is a thing next to impossible. The principal difficulties in the administration of the bureau are the hardships resulting to the claimant in making proof under the existing regulations, and, on the other hand, the uncertainty of detecting frauds on the part of those who become applicants, or, who having been once recognized under a special provision of law, are often tempted to conceal the time when their lawful claim should cease. It is the remedy of these and some other

defects in the pension system that the pending bill contemplates.

#### THE VIENNA EXPOSITION.

In the House the bill of appropriation for the Vienna Exposition, as amended by the Senate, was concurred in. This bill provides two hundred thousand dollars for general purposes, and fifty thousand for personal expenses, fixing the salary of principal commissioners at five thousand, and that of artisans and scientific persons at one thousand dollars each.

#### THE TWO PER CENT. BILL IN THE SENATE.

This subject has again been under discussion in the Senate. The Senators from the States interested in carrying the measure, have used their utmost exertions to secure its success. They have, with great ability, advanced every argument that would seem to operate in its favor; they have shown the liberality of Congress towards the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and others; they have cited the opinions of very eminent men as to the legality of the claim, and have fortified their position by the names of President Lincoln, Mr. Justice Davis of the Supreme Court, Mr. Judge Drummond, Judge Walker, Mr. Justice Curtis, formerly of the Supreme Court, and Mr. William M. Evarts, as well as of other eminent jurists, who all agree upon the equity and justice of this claim; yet, on the other hand, it was shown that long ago the claim of these said States was not based upon the ground of any prior contract, but upon the consideration of a great national benefit, and though an act passed both Houses of Congress to pay the claim then presented, it was vetoed by President Monroe on the ground that the Government had fulfilled its contract towards those States, and, therefore, was not bound by any obligation of justice or expediency to deplete the Treasury of the United States further on this account. This was likewise the opinion of President Buchanan, and it was on one occasion acknowledged by Mr. Ross, of Ohio, who stated on the floor of the

House that such was a correct history of the case. Thus the matter stands. It is plain that the whole merits of the question turn upon the disposition of the five per cent. of the proceeds of the sale of the public lands within the bounds of these respective States, which was, by the original legislation, to go to the States indicated, and which the Government has actually paid to some of the States that come within this category. If any part of the five per cent. so pledged by law has been paid heretofore, or if the whole has been paid, or if any part has been extinguished by the said States for other considerations, that ought to be the basis of adjustment, and the question should be determined judicially. The best method, then, as it strikes us, is for Congress to remove the question from the legislative arena, and send these States, as parties, into the courts, where the matter may be finally adjusted.

#### COMPOUND INTEREST.

A bill for reopening the accounts of the several States that were in the Union prior to the war of 1812, and paying to said States, from the United States Treasury, any amounts that may be found due the said States respectively, was recently brought under discussion in the House. The States in question are Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Tennessee. These States made advances in furnishing supplies for the troops in the field, with the expectation that the General Government should reimburse them after the war was over. The principal of all these claims has already been paid. Then a claim for interest was brought forward, and the first bill providing for the payment of interest was passed in 1825. The accounting officers of the Treasury made a calculation, and applied the partial payments in the accounts of the several States upon the principle that interest should be computed up to the time of a partial payment; that the partial payment should be deducted from the principal, and the remainder should

be treated as a new principal, on which interest should be cast up to the time of the next partial payment, and so on till the entire principal had been paid. The aggregate of the interest so accruing and so computed was then paid, in full settlement of the several accounts, and the amount thus expended out of the Treasury was between nineteen and twenty millions of dollars.

There was one exception—the State of Maryland. On the 3d of March, 1857, Maryland, by some stroke of fortune, secured an act in her favor, which provided that her account should be reopened, and that the settlement should be upon the following principle, namely: interest to be computed upon the principal of the claim up to the time of the first partial payment; this interest to be deducted from the payment, and the balance of the payment to be deducted from the principal, and the remainder so found to be treated as a new principal on which interest was cast to the time of the next payment, and so on in repetition.

This latter mode of settlement having been provided for by the act of 1857 in the case of Maryland, the other States who had similar claims against the Government (and Virginia is foremost among them,) now come forward demanding that they shall have the benefit of the mode of settlement which has been applied in favor of Maryland. Should this demand be successful it will deplete the Treasury of a sum in the aggregate estimated to exceed thirty millions of dollars. It was contended in the debate that the legislation in the case of Maryland was a bad precedent, and should not now be followed; that the rule of the Government for the payment of interest was the Congressional rule, not the mercantile rule; that those States had received already both principal and interest of their claims upon the computation of the accounting officers of the Treasury Department, and that it would be wholly inexpedient to open these accounts again for the purpose of virtually computing compound interest in behalf

of the States in question, thus laying upon the Government an unreasonable if not an unjust burden.

The question is thus reduced to this single point—what is simple interest? for it will not be contended that the Government is bound to pay anything more than simple interest at six per cent. To illustrate this by an example: let it be supposed that the claim of a single State, Virginia for instance, was \$1,000,000, and that from the time at which the claim was established to the time at which it was finally paid a period of twenty years has transpired. The simple interest on this claim for twenty years, at six per cent., would be \$1,200,000. This added to the principal would make the whole claim at the end of twenty years \$2,200,000. But suppose that at the end of ten years \$500,000 of the principal should be paid; this would make it necessary to compute the interest on \$1,000,000 for ten years and the interest on \$500,000 for ten years more. This would give a simple interest of \$600,000, and also another sum of simple interest of \$300,000. Then the whole sum to be paid to the State in question would be \$1,900,000. Thus by making the payment as supposed there would be a saving of \$300,000. Now suppose, on the other hand, a payment of \$500,000 was made as before, and the calculations to be as follows: At the end of ten years principal and interest would be \$1,600,000; deduct \$500,000, and the balance will be \$1,100,000; interest on this for ten years more will be \$660,000. So to liquidate the claim on this computation there must be paid in all \$2,263,000; making an aggregate difference in the result of the two calculations of \$360,000. It is alleged that to recompute the interest on these State claims upon the latter principal would be to make the Government pay compound interest; but it is questionable whether that position can be regarded as tenable, and whether those who oppose the measure should not place their action upon some more substantial footing. The final action of the House, however, has been postponed by the pressure of

other business, and it is now doubtful whether the subject will be resumed during the existence of the present Congress.

#### MISCELLANEOUS APPROPRIATION BILL.

The discussion of a bill in the House for miscellaneous appropriations disclosed some important items of expenditure for the erection of Government buildings in different parts of the country and the conflicting views of honorable members in regard to them. The recent fires in Chicago and Boston have demonstrated that it is not the best economy for the Government to build marble palaces at a cost of three or four millions each in the various leading cities of the Union; but, on the other hand, it is contended that the country can afford to do now far more in this respect than it did in the early days of our history. In 1799 there was no man in the nation who was worth \$1,000,000. To-day there are citizens worth \$30,000,000 or \$40,000,000, and the wealth of the people generally has increased in some similar ratio. It is, therefore, contended that they can afford to make larger appropriations for Government buildings in the principal cities than could their fathers before them; but this consideration is not to be pressed too far in its application; and Congress may well hesitate to increase the draft upon the public treasury in view of the multiplied interests which are every year testing the capacity of the nation to meet the expenses accumulating upon its hands.

#### THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

The Committee on Privileges and Elections in the Senate have submitted the evidence taken in the case of the State of Louisiana, and have made a report upon the political situation in that State; from which it appears that considerable diversity of opinion exists among the members of that committee upon the subjects which they have traversed in committee. That the President earnestly desires some definite action of Congress in regard to affairs in Louisiana, is shown by the clear and reasonable statement in his special mes-

sage relating to this matter. His course in the future will depend upon this action. If nothing is done by Congress, the Executive must recognize and support the government in that State which has been decided to be the true and lawful one by the court which has jurisdiction of the question.

#### OBSCENE LITERATURE.

In the Senate a bill for the suppression of obscene literature was considered, and several amendments were adopted. The bill strikes at an evil which is the disgrace of our civilization, and which, on becoming a law—as it will, no doubt, sooner or later—should be enforced with the utmost rigor.

#### THE TWO PER CENT. FUND IN THE HOUSE.

This subject, which has been largely discussed in both houses, is still urged with great persistency by the members from the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, who claim that these States have not been paid the full five per cent. to which they are entitled under a law passed seventy years ago, while other States have been so paid. The claim is that only three per cent. has been paid, and they now insist that they shall receive the remaining two per cent. to which they are justly entitled. This demand has been resisted, on the ground that they have already received what is equivalent to the whole five per cent. It is claimed that a great national road was projected through these States, and onward still West through the State of Missouri; and that what the Government did towards building this road, was to be an offset to each of these States for any balance of the five per cent. to which they were entitled; and that the Government, having complied with this stipulation, has discharged its obligation in full. But, by way of replication, it is denied that the Government has ever performed this contract in regard to this national road; at least so far as the three States in question are concerned. This whole subject is left in dispute in the Senate, having been suspended by an adjournment of that body.

**REPORT OF THE WILSON COMMITTEE.**

In the House of Representatives a report has been presented by the special committee charged to inquire into the affairs of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, the Credit Mobilier of America, and other matters connected with the same. This report gives a history of the rise and progress of these two companies, and of their transactions, extending over a period of the last ten years. It shows the enormous profits accruing to the managers and most prominent persons who obtained control of the enterprise of building the Pacific railroad. It presents very fairly the grounds of defense set up by these managers and operators of the road, and concedes the force of this defense in some particulars.

The points of complaint and replication against them are as follows:

1. The provision of the charter requiring the stock to be paid for in money has been grossly violated.

2. If the company could not build the road according to the act of Congress, they had no right to build it at all.

3. The enormous dividends declared were in palpable violation of law.

4. The claim that the gentlemen of those two companies had aided the enterprise by their own personal credit to a large extent, though at first glance plausible, is controverted by the actual condition of the facts. The risk they took was far less than it is represented, for it clearly appears that in December, 1867, they actually divided among themselves as profits a larger sum than they ever put at risk in the whole transaction.

5. The claim that the profits are not excessive, in view of the risks of these gentlemen, is not supported, because the chief risk was always on the side of the Government.

6. The claim that these gentlemen acted under legal advice does not appear in the evidence, though the committee earnestly invited the presentation of proof upon this point.

7. The claim that large sums have

been saved to the Government by the building of this road, is answered by the fact that it was constructed out of the resources of the Government.

8. The claim that the Government could have procured no better terms for the construction of the road from any quarter is an assumption founded only on the opinion of parties whose conduct is now in question.

Having set forth these answers to the plea of the respondents, the report goes on to say:

1. That while the charter of the Credit Mobilier Company required its affairs to be managed by a board of directors, and its principal business office to be in the city of Philadelphia, the actual management was by a board of trustees in the city of New York, thus creating a disguise for the operations of these trustees under a fictitious and pretended use of the corporate powers of the Credit Mobilier Company.

2. While the charter of the Union Pacific Railroad Company required its powers to be exercised by a board of fifteen directors, ten of whom should be *bona fide* holders of stock and should be elected by stockholders representing capital which had been actually paid in full and in money, this contrivance of the Credit Mobilier virtually placed all the power and control of said railroad corporation, its property and franchises, in the hands of the same persons, and beyond the management provided by law; and thus a scheme was adopted which was in its inception, progress, and results entirely unlawful and fraudulent.

3. While the United States subordinated its own lien to a mortgage for the security of the bonds of the company, moneys were borrowed under the privilege so conferred, and shared among those parties as dividends.

4. Large quantities of the capital stock required by law to be paid for in money at par value have in fact been bought and sold at a price not exceeding thirty cents on the dollar.

5. Thus the Union Railroad Company,

instead of meeting the demands of the Government and the current conditions of the times, has been reduced to a weak, poor, and incompetent corporation, unable to fulfil its obligations, and liable to be attached as a mere appendage to some of the powerful railroad corporations of the East.

Having recited these items of their finding, the committee proceed to recommend a bill providing that the Attorney General of the United States shall cause a suit in equity to be instituted, in the name of the United States, against the Union Pacific Railroad Company and all other interested parties; said suit to be brought in the circuit court in any district, and all said parties made defendants in one suit; the books and documents of the said company to be open at all times to the inspection of the Secretary of the Treasury or his deputy. The laws of bankruptcy shall not apply to said corporation. No dividend shall hereafter be made, except from the actual net earnings of the road, and no new stock, or mortgages, or pledges be issued without the consent of Congress. No director or officer of the road shall be hereafter interested in any contract therewith, except for his lawful compensation, and any violation of this act shall be punishable by imprisonment not exceeding two years, and by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars.

The committee also find that there are persons connected with the Credit Mobilier Company holding the bonds of the United States, and that such persons hold the said bonds not in good faith and for value, but having illegally obtained them.

The committee do not recommend that the Government should refuse to pay these bonds with interest; but that while the frauds now pointed out exist there are so many persons who hold the first mortgage bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad Company in good faith that the mortgage should not be set aside.

They report the facts as to the character of the Credit Mobilier Company, and

a reference to the report of the Poland investigating committee for the facts relating to the connection of members of Congress and other persons with those transactions, but without submitting any recommendation in regard to them.  
**REPORT OF THE POLAND COMMITTEE.**

The excitement on the subject of the Credit Mobilier, which had been daily increasing from the beginning of the session, culminated in the House Tuesday and Wednesday, the 25th and 26th February. The announcement of the debate drew together an immense throng of people, not more than half of whom could get inside the hall.

Judge Poland opened the discussion in a very elaborate statement, supporting the conclusions of the committee, and was followed by an equally elaborate defense in behalf of Mr. Ames, which was read by the Clerk from his desk. The speaking then became general, lasting two days, with various interruptions, propositions, substitutes, amendments, and votes forced upon the body by the parliamentary tactics of the leaders on the respective sides of the question.

The net result of the whole was a vote of censure on the conduct of Messrs. Ames and Brooks, and the full and final discharge of the committee. It is now left for the people to pronounce upon the result thus reached by their representatives in the popular branch of Congress.

#### THE APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Such of the regular annual appropriations bills as had been delayed to the very last days of the session were finally passed in time for the approval of the President. Among these were the bills of appropriation for pensions, for the Post Office Department, for the army and navy, for river and harbor improvements, for the sundry civil service, and for the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Government. To these was added a general deficiency bill, which considerably increases the aggregate amount of the appropriations made by the outgoing Congress. But owing to the haste and confusion, which usually signalize

the close of a Congressional session, it is impossible to ascertain upon the moment the precise sum which has been appropriated by the action of this Congress. A proximate estimate would place it at about \$180,000,000.

#### THE MODE OF DOING BUSINESS.

That there is room for, and a very urgent need of improvement in the methods of Congressional proceedings, must be evident to the most careless observer. As nearly as can be ascertained no less than twenty-five hundred different bills have been introduced during this closing session of Congress, not more than one-tenth part of which have been finally disposed of. This results, in part, from the dilatory habits of Congress, and from the lavish manner in which much precious time is expended. As the term draws to a close the business accumulates, and some of the most important measures are necessarily hurried over without proper examination; while in the scenes of disorder which follow when members are excited or exhausted and unfit for calm deliberation, when debate is limited and the voice of prudence almost wholly silenced, it is possible to impose upon the country the most extravagant exactions, and to practice a favoritism, partiality, and injustice, for which there may be no redress.

#### INCONSISTENCY OF ACTION.

That some inequality and hardship should exist in the actual results of Congressional legislation seems incident to any system ever yet devised by man; and that sometimes a poor, weak, or friendless, but honest, claimant should be turned away, while matters far more questionable receive the prompt attention of Congress, is a condition which vitally affects the national character and interest. For the value of a government is measured by the protection which it gives to every citizen, however humble. Wherein it fails to do this it must suffer in the respect of those who would fain uphold it. Hence every apparent violation of this principle is to be deprecated as disparaging to the character of popular governments. Yet as an illustra-

tion of what may be not unfrequently observed in the current business of Congress, a member rises in his place and moves an appropriation of several thousands of dollars out of the contingent fund to defray the expenses of an investigation to see whether one of his fellow members has been guilty of a crime—and the money is instantly voted. The next bill called up is perhaps one for the relief of a poor suffering woman whose husband was a soldier in the Mexican war, praying for a mere pittance to keep her from starving. But on its being ascertained that the dead hero only served his country in her conflict with her enemy for a period of three months (just the length of the present session of Congress) the claim is immediately rejected. This ought not to be the working of a Government which designs to show impartial justice and to give equal protection to the rights of all.

#### AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES.

That the cause of education is dear to the American people is evident from the whole history of the past. That there is a disposition to foster it by all proper means is no less evident. The bill for the endowment of agricultural colleges, as it was introduced and advocated in the early stages of the session, seemed to give promise of becoming a law, that would have largely stimulated the founding of schools of this description throughout the country. But as the discussion proceeded and the measure was modified so as to swell the donation proposed beyond all reasonable proportions, there was developed a great variety of opinions even among the most ardent friends of popular education as to the expediency of the measure; and it was finally lost by a commitment to a joint committee of conference.

#### NON-REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS.

It was expected that the Committee of Ways and Means in the House, to whom was assigned the duty of inquiring into certain charges alleged against members of Congress in connection with the brokers of New York, and also in

regard to the rumors in relation to the Pacific Mail subsidies, would have reported the result of their investigations; but for want of time, or for other reasons best known to the committee, they entirely failed in the performance of this duty. There will be an inquiry into this matter at some future time.

#### IMPEACHMENT.

The Judiciary Committee of the House, to whom was referred the question of impeachment, arising from the testimony reported by the Poland committee in regard to the Vice President and other gentlemen, acting with remarkable dispatch, advised the House that there was no legal ground of impeachment in the premises—resting this conclusion chiefly on the fact that the acts out of which the present accusations arose against honorable gentlemen whose names have been thus unfortunately associated, were done by them prior to their entrance upon the offices now held by them, and thus arguing a want of the jurisdiction of Congress over these cases, as being barred by an obstacle similar to the statute of limitation. A minority report was also made, dissenting from the reasoning of the majority, and putting the matter principally on the ground that there was not time to go into a judicial investigation before the Senate prior to the expiration of the life of the present Congress. This action of the Judiciary Committee took the House by surprise, and was finally postponed, to be called up as the special order at a given time, but the pressure of other business prevented its resumption. The doctrines of the reports thus submitted, however, are worthy of a critical examination, and may be again adverted to in this review of the proceedings of the outgoing Congress.

#### THE FISHERIES.

Action was finally taken on the fisheries question substantially in accordance with the recommendation of the President, and in pursuance of the provisions of the treaty with Great Britain. In the debate upon this subject, much important statistical information was

elicited, and some of the great practical results of these treaty stipulations with the English Government were exhibited. This matter may form the subject of a future article, in which the actual condition of our relations with the people of the Canadas will be explained.

#### INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES.

The report of the Wilson committee in the House was made effective by the action of Congress, so that suit may be commenced by the Government in any of the circuit courts of the United States against any party or parties holding stock in an unlawful manner, which stock shall inure to the benefit of the United States for the recovery of such amounts as may be due from such party or parties to the United States. This measure may enable the Government to reclaim to the Federal Treasury a portion, at least, of the vast sums which have been hitherto unjustly withheld.

The Pomeroy investigation committee have made their report, which shows that Senator Pomeroy did give to Mr. Yorke the sum of seven thousand dollars, but, as he (Pomeroy) alleges, it was to go to a Mr. Page to help him to set up a banking establishment in Independence, Kansas. Mr. Page corroborates this by admitting that he had an understanding with Senator Pomeroy that he was to send him the money by Mr. Yorke, or some other person from the same place. If this is true, it would seem to exonerate Mr. Pomeroy, and to convict Yorke of the most diabolical and execrable conduct which has ever disgraced the name of a public man in the history of the country.

But it must be confessed that the whole circumstance has a deep shadow of suspicion, and no one outside the parties to the transaction will ever know, or can ever be certain, how the matter really was at the time of the midnight interview between them. As the evidence, however, stands on the record before the Senate, it could do nothing more than adopt the report of the majority of the committee, and release the Senator accused from the penalty due

to such conduct had he been clearly convicted. In the very best aspect of it, the case is a sad instance of the manner in which deep iniquity stalks abroad in high places.

The Morrill investigating committee have also made a report upon the cases of Senators Logan, Wilson, Conkling, and Patterson, entirely exculpating all but the last-named gentleman, on whom the committee recommend a vote of expulsion. But, in the hurry and press of the last hours of Congress, the report was not acted on, and the unfortunate gentleman will most likely retire from his high place under a burden of obloquy that will follow him to his grave.

The report on the condition of affairs in the State of Louisiana occupied a large space in the deliberations of the Senate, considering the pressure of business accumulating, and necessary to be done in the closing days of Congress. Some of the ablest men in the body debated the subject at length, and finally no conclusion was reached thereon. So the President will be thrown back on the course which he had indicated several days ago in a special message relating to the question; and during the time which intervenes before the meeting of the next Congress, he will recognize and support the government which has been recognized by the courts of Louisiana.

#### THE FOURTH OF MARCH.

This day the sun shone cloudless, but the wind was bitter cold. The capital was crowded in every part by visitors from all sections of the country, who had been arriving for several days to witness the inauguration ceremonies. Every route of travel had been thronged, and the capacity of the railroads was over-tasked, so that multitudes did not arrive till after the ceremonies were over. But at the appointed hour—half past ten o'clock—the procession began to move down the Avenue toward the Capitol. The whole street was decorated in every part, and thronged on either side throughout the whole distance by a dense mass of people banked up from

the curb-stones to the very roofs of the houses. The procession consisted of many military companies, both from the District and from abroad—the West Point cadets having the post of honor, the Annapolis naval cadets following—and a very large and splendid array of the soldiery from the United States Army, and from the State military, and from the large cities of the North. There were, also, beside the President's suite, and the Governor's suite, in carriages, the members of the United States Judiciary and the Government officials; the veterans of the Mexican war; the boys of the Soldiers and Sailors Orphans' Home; the veterans of the Soldiers' Home; the secret Orders; the fire companies; the civilians, and an immense concourse of visitors, who joined in the retinue and moved to the music of many famous bands, with flying banners and every demonstration of pride, enthusiasm, and patriotic joy.

THE CEREMONIES AT THE CAPITOL, which was early thronged with people, were full of order, decorum, and impressive power. The House of Representatives had been declared by the Speaker, in a brief but appropriate address, adjourned *sine die*, and had arrived in the Senate Chamber a few minutes before 12 o'clock meridian. The Vice-President, in the Senate, in the presence of the President-elect, the judges of the Supreme Court, the diplomatic corps, and the members of both houses of Congress, closed his public career in a short address, and then administered the oath of office to his successor, the Hon. Henry Wilson, who immediately took the chair, and, having made a few remarks, proceeded at once to organize the Senate by swearing in the new members and causing the proclamation of the President, convening an extra session of that body for executive business, to be read. The Senate being so organized and convened, the procession moved out of the Senate Chamber to the broad open platform on the eastern steps of the Capitol, where, all being in readiness, the President-elect took the oath of office for a second term,

and then proceeded to deliver his inaugural address. This being over, the whole order was reversed, and the grand procession escorted the Chief Magistrate to his residence, where, after being reviewed by him, the procession broke ranks, and the business of the day was concluded.

#### EXTRA EXECUTIVE SESSION OF THE SENATE.

This body, by virtue of its executive functions, is required to extend its sessions upon any necessity which demands its action in the confirmation of executive appointments, or of other executive business. The changes incident to the incoming of a new Administration necessarily require immediate attention, and, therefore, the Senate was convoked to render the President such assistance as he may require in the readjustment of his appointments, and to give their constitutional sanction to such other matters as expediency may suggest.

#### SUBJECTS FOR REVISION IN FUTURE NUMBERS.

It has been entirely impracticable in following the proceedings of the recent Congress to give more than a bare outline of some of the important measures which have engaged its attention. Nor was it possible, from the very nature of the case, to preserve the order which obtained in the treatment of the various matters which have claimed consideration in either house of Congress. It will be the aim of future articles to meet this defect as far as possible.

#### THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

This document is plain, simple, and direct. The President shows that he still adheres to his first declaration that he "has no policy to enforce against the will of the people;" that his duty is to uphold the Constitution and the laws; and that fidelity in this will be fidelity to the general interests and prosperity of the country. He alludes to the disturbed condition of the Republic when he assumed the reins of administration four years ago, and says he has devoted his energies to restoring the integrity of the Union, "harmony, public credit,

commerce, and all the arts of peace and progress." He expresses the conviction that the world is tending toward republicanism, and that our own Republic is leading the van in this stupendous movement of the nations.

He alludes to the Santo Domingo question, and after reviewing its history he says that, with his private opinion unchanged, he shall make no recommendation for further acquisition of territory in advance of the popular judgment. His sentiment as to what is due to the colored citizen is outspoken and unambiguous. He desires to see a perfect civil and political equality, leaving the question of social affinity where nature leaves it, and which no political legislation can ever regulate. He states that his future efforts will be bent toward reviving fraternal feeling between the different sections; appreciating the currency if possible to par value; the construction of cheap routes of travel and transit throughout the land; to the maintenance of friendly relations with all nations; the reestablishment of our commerce and carrying trade upon the waters; the encouragement of home manufactures; the elevation of labor; the civilization of the Indian; the civil service reform and, generally, the welfare and happiness of all the people.

He alludes, in conclusion, to his personal career since April, 1861, and to "the abuse and slander" heaped upon him since his course began to attract the notice of his countrymen, but which he feels to-day that he can afford to disregard in view of the verdict of the people, which he gratefully accepts as his vindication. Yes, and we may add, that he could well have spared himself the pain even of an allusion to "the abuse and slander" which have been heaped upon him. The people understand it, and if the coming Administration shall prove as successful as the last, there will be but one verdict in history in regard to this remarkable man, and that will be—He stands second to none on the illustrious roll of American soldiers, statesmen, and rulers!

## THE NATION WORKING FOR ITSELF.

On the 13th of December, 1872, Mr. F. I. Scudamore, C. B., (companion of the bath,) delivered a lecture on the above-named subject before the Hull Church Institute, at the Royal Institution, Albion street, Hull, England. In his opening remarks Mr. Scudamore reminded his hearers of the numerous proverbs and fables in which their ancestors had conveyed to them their strong belief that the presence of the master's eye, the constant vigilance of the person most interested in the success of an undertaking, was essential to that success. This conviction was at the very root of the doctrines of competition and free trade. It was at the very root of the doctrine that private enterprise was more rapid, more sure, and more economical in its results than state enterprise was or could hope to be; and yet, notwithstanding all this, and although every word he should have to say would be in favor of certain state enterprises, he, of choice, took these proverbs as the text of the small lay sermon which he was going to preach, respecting "The Nation Working for Itself."

Adam Smith had taught "that the most effectual plan for advancing a people to greatness is to maintain that order of things which nature has pointed out by allowing every man, as long as he observes the rule of justice, to pursue his own interest in his own way, and to bring both his industry and his capital into the freest competition with those of his fellow-citizens." But Smith knew that while it was the business of the Government to preserve the freedom of the market for labor, and to let private enterprise follow its own unfettered and unbiased will in catering for that market, yet the task of making and keeping up the communication between all the different parts of the market, and of facilitating the exchanges within its limits, was far beyond the powers of private enterprise. Accordingly he (Adam Smith) regarded the post office as a mer-

cantile project, well calculated to be managed by a government, though he stated that it was, perhaps, the only mercantile project that had ever been successfully managed by every sort of government. Mr. Seudamore said he had stated Smith's views because, until quite recently, it was held by people, who fancied themselves to have derived their authority from him, that the existence of the post office as a government institution was an infraction of the rules of political economy, which might be defended on the ground of expediency, but on no other ground. The speaker proposed to show that the duties entrusted to the post office and its affiliated institutions were such as ought to be entrusted to government, and that they could not now be performed as satisfactorily as they now were by any other than a government department. He should show that the essential condition of success, the master's eye—which Adam Smith missed from the joint-stock companies and the government department of his day—was always present in the post office. He should show that the post office had been made what it now is by the national will; that it had grown and gained strength through successive national demands, always coming from without, for extension and development; that it was regulated and guided through the press and Parliament; and that, to sum up all, we saw in it "the nation working for itself."

In its inception the post-office system was an establishment for the conveyance of persons from place to place rather than for the conveyance of letters. "The posts" were stations at convenient distances on the main routes of the kingdom, at which travelers could obtain relays of horses for their journey. At first these relays were furnished by private parties as an ordinary commercial speculation, but in the troubled times of plot and intrigue, which followed the

reformation, successive monarchs desired to have some watch kept upon the movements of persons from one part of the country to the other, and so took the management of the posts into their own hands. An ordinance of Philip and Mary was so framed as to prevent travelers from hiring any other than the licensed horses, in order to keep them under close supervision from the beginning to the end of their journey. In course of time rules were laid down by monarchs for the transmission of letters, laying the foundation for a system of regular mails. Some progress was made under James I. towards the organization of post communication, and under the commonwealth, according to Mr. Scudamore, was laid the statutory foundation of the existing system, though this statutory foundation had generally been supposed to have been laid in the twelfth year of Charles II. by an act which confirmed to the crown the monopoly of the transmission of letters, and the monopoly of letting out horses for express. For some time after this a pernicious system prevailed of farming out the posts, first to one courtier and then to another, but in the reign of James II. a permanent postmaster was appointed to act on behalf of the crown, and not merely to farm its postal revenues.

After giving further facts and incidents connected with the history and development of the post office, Mr. Scudamore said that the system at present existing in the United Kingdom might claim to have attained the following results:

1. There is a receptacle for letters; *i. e.*, a place for posting letters, within the reach of every person, and within very easy reach of nearly every person in the kingdom.

2. The hours at which letters are taken from these receptacles for transmission for destinations are generally as convenient as they can be made for the purposes of business, or for social and domestic purposes.

3. The dispatch of letters from these

receptacles is regular and continuous to all parts of the kingdom.

4. Speaking broadly, the letters are sent to their destination by the most direct route, and, when the most direct route is not selected, there are, as a rule, concurrent circumstances which prevent the letters from suffering delay.

5. The speed with which the letters are transmitted is the highest that can be obtained with the appliances of which the country is at present possessed.

6. The charge for the transmission of letters is not only very low, but practically uniform over the whole kingdom—the cases in which a house or a hamlet is not within the delivery, covered by the initial charge of one penny, being so rare as to be scarcely appreciable.

7. A station from which a delivery of letters is made is close to every person, and very close to nearly every person in the kingdom.

8. The principles which the post office has followed in attaining these general results with regard to letters have also been closely observed by it in its organization of the telegraph system, since it has endeavored to give, and to a great extent has succeeded in giving, to those who would communicate their thoughts by the help of the telegraph, the readiest possible access to an office of dispatch, the greatest possible directness of route, the greatest possible swiftness of transmission, and a rate of charge, which is practically uniform since the offices of delivery are so close to the population, as to make extra charges for portage of comparatively rare occurrence.

9. Concurrently with the organization of these facilities for the communication of thought by letter or telegraph between all parts of the kingdom, it has set up a bank, through whose agency sums of money, whether great or small, can be transmitted on security of the nation, at an uniform rate of charge, over any distance in the kingdom.

10. It has extended the operation of this bank, so as to permit money (within certain limits of amount) to be deposited at interest, and with national security,

in any part of the kingdom, and to be withdrawn at pleasure either in that part or any other part of the kingdom.

11. It offers facilities to those who would make provision for their families, or for their own old age, to do so within certain limits of amount, but always with national security.

12. Having for these purposes set up an organization of vast extent, with the quickest possible communication between all its widely scattered members, it has of late years been required to make that organization serviceable to other Government departments by undertaking such work as the sale of licenses and the payment of pensions—work which seems capable of an almost indefinite extension.

13. And, lastly, it does all this not merely without burdening the nation, but with a positive profit to the nation—a profit which serves instead of other and possibly distasteful taxation.

It must be confessed that the results which he had described were not very rapidly attained. Between 1656 and the year 1719, when letters began systematically to be sent by direct routes, that is, by cross-posts instead of through London, from one part of the country to the other, sixty-three years elapsed. From 1719 to 1783, when the first system of swift and systematic transmission by mail coach was devised and set on foot, sixty-four years elapsed. From the year 1783 to the year 1840, when the system of uniform penny postage was inaugurated, fifty-seven years elapsed. Since the year 1840 the progress of improvement had been more rapid.

The cross-post system was devised by Mr. Ralph Allen, of Bath, who farmed the cross-posts at an annual rent during his life; but on his death it was absorbed into the general system. The second great improvement, like the first, was forced on the department from without. It was suggested by another inhabitant of Bath, Mr. John Palmer, who, in 1783, proposed the establishment of a system of mail coaches to start from London at the same time, to travel at a uniform rate,

to accomplish the whole and each stage of the journey in a specified time, and to be sufficiently protected against the risk of robbery by the way. Previous to this the mails had been carried on horseback, in bags strapped behind the "post boy," with great irregularity and risk of robbery; yet the proposed new system encountered strenuous opposition. The third great improvement in the administration of the post office, the introduction of an uniform penny postage, like the two former, came from without. It was devised by Sir Rowland Hill, and introduced in the year 1840. This gentleman, more than most men, had put the nation in a mood to be "working for itself." The continuity of service, readiness of access to places in which letters could be posted, and the wide extension of the areas of free delivery, which had already been enumerated among the results to which the post-office system had attained, were regarded by Mr. Scudamore as indirect results of Sir Rowland Hill's improvements. There were now in the United Kingdom more than twenty thousand receptacles for letters as compared with about forty-five hundred which existed prior to the introduction of the penny-postage. This increase of facilities would have been useless had it been attempted without reducing the charges, as it would then have increased the cost of working without increasing the business of the department.

In the early days of penny-postage those who questioned the principles and doubted the success of Sir Rowland Hill's scheme, were wont to point out triumphantly that the increase in post office expenditure was proportionately greater than the increase in post-office revenue. That this was so, was mainly attributable to the continued extensions of the area, within which the uniform charge of one penny was paid for the whole work done upon a letter. Each fresh concession of a secondary distribution, free of charge, subtracted something, for a time at least, from the profit made on the primary distribution. If the post office had been the property of

a joint-stock company, and had been worked by a board of directors for the benefit of the shareholders, the shareholders would have a right to say, "Don't risk our money in these doubtful enterprises. They certainly will not pay for some time. It is possible that some of them will never pay at all. Confine your operations to the metropolis and to the principal centers of trade and commerce and population. If poor and thinly-populated districts want to share in the advantages of our undertaking, they must secure us against the loss which is almost certain to follow our compliance with their request." This was what the shareholders in a joint-stock company would have had a right to say, but the post office was a national establishment, and all the people of the kingdom were shareholders in it; and at each concession of a secondary distribution, free of charge, to any district, or village, or hamlet, the whole people, and not merely the people of the district, or village, or hamlet, shared in the benefit of the concession. The policy of establishing rural posts, and bringing as nearly as possible the whole kingdom under the operation of the uniform penny-rate had been in every way successful. Posts which at first were unremunerative had, in the course of years, become profitable. In the first year of penny-postage, when there were but 4,500 receptacles for letters, the average number posted in each receptacle was 37,000. In last year, when there were 20,000 receptacles, the average number posted in each during the year was 49,000. The population of the country was greater, of course, than it was in 1840, but the increase of letters had outstripped the increase of population. In 1840 there were but seven letters to each head of the population; in 1871 there were twenty-nine letters to each head of the population. The progress of education since 1840 had been great, but it was hard to say that education had done more for penny-postage than penny-postage had done for education. During the last twenty years the revenue of the post office has steadily

and constantly increased. In the first five years of this period it averaged £56,000 per annum; in the second period of five years it averaged £1,000,000 per annum; in the third period of five years it averaged nearly £1,200,000, and in the fourth and last period of five years it had averaged nearly £1,400,000 per annum.

The money-order office, which was a Government bank for the transmission of money, could never have attained its present proportions, or become so useful as it was, if it had not been grafted on the post office, with the growth of which institution it also had grown. It was not established with a view to profit, but for the distinctly-expressed purpose of providing the poorer classes of the community with some means of remitting small sums of money. For a few years it was actually carried on at a loss, (although the charges to the public were much higher than they now are,) but by means of successive improvements in the mode of carrying on the work it was made to produce a moderate amount of profit.

The money-order office has at present about 4,500 agents, each of whom could draw at sight upon all the others; the amount for which a single order could be drawn was limited to £10, but any one could have as many ten-pound orders as he chose to pay for. It was the business of the central administration to see that each agent accounted for all his drafts on the other agents, that he had sufficient funds to meet any drafts that might be drawn upon him, and that he duly remitted any excess that might remain in his hands. In the year 1871 the agents of the money-order office throughout the kingdom drew (and of course paid) more than twelve millions of drafts for an aggregate sum of more than twenty-two millions sterling. The average number of drafts drawn and paid on each working day was about forty thousand, and the average daily amount of the drafts drawn and paid was about £70,000. The drafts (*i.e.*, the money-orders) as they were paid were sent in day by day to the central office,

which had the task of cancelling them after comparing them with the records of issue which had been received from the agents by whom they were drawn. He believed he was correct in stating that the number of drafts thus flowing in day by day to be cancelled was greater than the number of Bank of England notes flowing into the Bank of England day by day to be cancelled there.

In the middle of 1871 there came into operation a new scale of charges, whose chief feature was a reduction of the charges upon orders for sums of less than ten shillings, and for sums ranging from ten to twenty shillings. Although this new scale was in operation during only a portion of the year 1871, the orders issued during that year were 12,000,000 in number, against 10,000,000 issued in 1870; the increase being chiefly in the orders for small amounts, which were largely increasing. A recent return showed that seventy-five per cent. of the orders issued in Hull were for sums of less than one pound. All classes of people were customers of the money-order office. It was the bank for all, whether rich or poor, with agents in the most sequestered places, where the post office alone could have helped it to find a footing.

The post-office savings bank was a natural offshoot of the money-order office. The transition from the receipt of money for transmission to the receipt of money on deposit was easy and natural. When Mr. Gladstone introduced the post-office savings-bank bill, there were many who opposed it and many who predicted that the scheme would fail. They were sure it would not be popular; that the people would be distrustful of the Government, and would always prefer to lodge their money in private hands; that the expenses of the scheme in the hands of the Government would become unnecessarily great, and that it must result in a loss to the state. These predictions were contrasted by Mr. Scudamore with the results actually attained. In eleven years, more than three millions of persons had opened

accounts in the post-office savings banks and had deposited more than £50,000,000 sterling. They had withdrawn, as their occasions required, about £34,000,000, part of which, as a matter of course, was accrued interest. Nearly one million and a half of persons now have accounts open in the post-office banks, and the sum due to them, with the accrued interest, exceeds eighteen millions. The transactions during the eleven years were numerous and individually small. The deposits had averaged about £3 per deposit; the withdrawals had averaged nearly £6 per withdrawal. The business had been carried on all over the kingdom—the system having grown with the growth of the money-order system—and yet, after paying all expenses and making proper allowance for depreciation of the securities in which the money of the depositors had been invested, the surplus of assets over liabilities at the close of last year was £445,000. The post-office savings banks, like the money-order office, were used not merely by the poor, but by all classes of the community, and their business would have an almost indefinite development if the limitation as to the amount of deposits were removed or relaxed, as they knew they could not deposit in them more than £30 in one year, or more than £150 in all. These limits were fixed many years ago, when Government was paying savings-banks depositors, as a bonus on prudence, a higher rate of interest than it could earn. The limitation was reasonable then; it was altogether unreasonable now, and the present chancellor of the exchequer tried hard to remove it about three years ago but was prevented by class opposition. Class opposition had also in a similar way crippled the government insurance act. They knew that the postmaster general could not insure a life for more than £100, or for less than \$20. The higher limit was fixed for the purpose of conciliating the wealthy insurance offices; the lower for the purpose of conciliating the friends of burial societies. Within the narrow range left to the post office it could do but little busi-

ness. He ventured to state that neither the insurance offices nor the burial societies ought to have been considered. The business of life insurance was one which ought to be entrusted to government rather than to private enterprise, and for this reason, if for no other: that it dealt exclusively with the future, and, humanly speaking, the future of government was certain. They had had but too many proofs of late years that the future of insurance offices and burial societies were anything but certain.

On the 5th of February, 1870, the post office commenced telegraph business with a uniform shilling rate, and with 2,982 offices—partly its own offices and partly those of railway companies working on behalf of the department. Since then it had opened, on its own account, 2,442 additional telegraph offices; and yet, in 1868 the district superintendents of the private companies professed themselves unable to discover that any necessity existed for additional offices. It was understating the case to say that the Government had twice as many offices as the companies had. Extensions of the system were equivalent to reductions of tariff and had a like effect. They familiarized the people with telegraphy; and, whereas messages were formerly received by most people with alarm, and opened with hesitation, they are now freely sent to congratulate friends on birth-days, and wedding-days, and other occasions of life which seem to call for friendly notice. The almost universal extension of the system had made the charge for transmission (including postage) as nearly as possible uniform throughout the country. There is thus in the system a certainty which is very attractive to the public and tends powerfully to increase business. Not long ago a man of business in London handed in a message to be transmitted to each of more than one thousand one hundred persons residing in London and different parts of the country. Under the existing system he could himself compute the cost of the message and ascertain whether it would be worth his while to incur the

outlay—a task which under the varying rates of the old system would have occupied a counter-clerk several hours in its performance. Mr. Scudamore mentioned other advantages resulting from fixity of charge, and stated that under the administration of the post office the telegraph messages of the United Kingdom had been raised from six to sixteen millions per annum.

In conclusion, Mr. Scudamore said: I have not told you that the post office is popular because it is efficient. On the contrary, I have told you that it is efficient because it is popular. It is efficient because it works under the eye of its master, the public; because its work, if well done, is highly pleasing, but if ill done, altogether intolerable to its master; and because that master can make his voice heard through the press and through Parliament whenever he has cause for complaint. No other Government office stands in this relation to the public. Many are doing excellent work, but you don't know whether they are doing it well or ill, and in some cases, perhaps, you would not greatly care if they let it alone. Even in Hull, I suppose no one dreams of reporting a tax-gatherer if he fails to call for the taxes. But you deal differently with our shortcomings. The post office is efficient because it works under the closest and most constant supervision by those who are most interested in its well-doing—because, in short, it is the servant of the "nation working for itself."

LOOK at the bright side of everything. It don't pay to go through life with a tear in your eye and a sigh upon your lips. If your friend has a fault don't dwell so long upon it as to forget his virtues. It is folly to look for perfection in anything. Accept the best you can get, and be thankful for it. Humanity is not half as black as some people would paint it. Its faults are like the spots upon the sun's surface—apparent enough to those who seek them, but unnoticed by those who are satisfied with the sunshine of every-day life.

## THE LOBBY.

Under this head it is proposed to examine into the characteristics of an institution which has, within a recent period, grown to enormous proportions on this continent, which exist without authority of law, yet lives under the toleration of law, thrives by lawlessness, and invests and infects all the avenues to State or National legislation.

By the *lobby* we do not mean the entrance to the post office, or theater, or the corridors of the State or National capitals, but the men who throng those corridors on selfish purposes intent, or follow the legislator to his home or his hotel for the purpose of bending his views into harmony with their wishes, urging with consummate skill the merit of the measure in question, while delicately alluding to personal friendship, and a long list of services which it has been in the power of the applicant to render to the great man he is endeavoring to move. All lobbyists do not properly come under this general description, and, to be more precise, it is but fair to divide this species of American legislators into three classes:

1st. The professional or skilled lobbyist, who follows the business for a livelihood, and is generally a person of good presence, easy morals, pleasant speech, keen perception, destitute of patriotism, unscrupulous, ready to prey upon either side, and with more capacity to defeat than to procure legislation.

2d. The agents of the great corporations that are or are to be. These are generally men of wealth, enterprise, and position in the States and communities in which they reside. Their schemes almost invariably present a good degree of merit, but as invariably cover some species of monopoly antagonistic to popular rights, or a covert and plausible attack upon the public treasury.

3d. The individual claimant who comes forward to prosecute his own case, often with little means and with less experience, yet with what he con-

siders a meritorious or, at least, a plausible claim.

These, with occasionally a miscellaneous lot, pushing for measures of local or sectional interest only, make up what is denominated the lobby or the "third house," well known at the capitals of most of the States, but seen in its greatest power and most elaborate organization at the capital of the nation. It is not too much to say that this organization, although composed of the most diverse material, and not unfrequently embracing hostile interests, is a most formidable hindrance to just legislation, and efficient in the promotion of schemes and the formation of combinations that are often highly detrimental to the public interest.

## CANNOT BE IGNORED.

It will not do to ignore or underrate the influence of such an organization, combining, as it always does, a great amount of practical talent, unlimited capital in cases of necessity, indomitable resolution, disparate purposes, a large acquaintance with public affairs, and a keen insight into personal character.

There have not been wanting occasions where the lobby has exercised complete mastery over State legislation, conspicuous examples of which may be seen in the history of the secession of several of the Southern States, the railroad legislation in New Jersey, and the so-called ring legislation of New York under the reign of Boss Tweed.

Other States on various occasions have been subjected to the same baneful influences, but seldom to the same extent.

## THE NATIONAL LOBBY.

It is not, however, of these so much as of the lobby at the national capital we desire mainly to treat. Here the field is a broader one, covering interests of general application, and of almost limitless extent; and, consequently, bringing into full play the very highest order, as well as the lowest, of lobby talent. Here the

"third house" more nearly becomes a permanent institution, and contains more practiced operators, better organization, more resources, and greater tenacity of purpose. That it has seldom or never attained that complete ascendancy over Congress which has, on occasions, been felt in the States may be attributed—

1st. To the fact of the greater publicity of Congressional proceedings, and the more careful scrutiny of the same by the people.

2d. That in proportion to numbers, Congress contains more men experienced in public affairs, greater diversity of talent, more distinctive personal characteristics and individual independence, and represents sections and interests which are more diversified than does any State legislature.

#### NEVER DISCOURAGED.

Even with such obstacles to overcome the lobby is never discouraged, but goes about its work with a system and regularity worthy of a better cause. Its ways are so various as to discourage recital, yet some of them will be referred to as examples.

When the promoters of any important measure come to Congress for its sanction or assistance, it is the first business of the lobby to demand employment at prices proportioned to the magnitude of the proposed measure, or to the wealth and gullability of the persons or agents endeavoring to secure its adoption. Failing in this, as is often the case in the first instance, the lobby then proceeds, in all the various ways known to parliamentarians, to block up the avenues to legislation, and its stool-pigeons are stationed at every turn to inform the promoters of the measure that success will be impossible unless Mr. J. or Mr. S. or Mr. W. be engaged; that these men have great influence, can secure a hearing, and bring a score or more Congressmen to the hearty support of the measure. Discouraged with delay, the agent or principal, as the case be, yields and throws himself into the hands of the professional lobbyist. Then his measure is at once taken, the depth

of his purse ascertained, his pile sized, and he is informed that a certain amount will be required—in advance—to grease the palms of Congressmen, when in fact not a single Congressman will ever see or hear of one dollar for the purpose named; but the lion's share will be, invariably, retained by the person receiving the money, while just enough will be doled out to other professionals to secure their silence or their activity in keeping up appearances, in endeavoring to popularize the measure. If the fee be a fat one, and a prospect of its being duplicated, the corridors and public places will fairly resound with the praises of, and honorable members themselves will become fairly astounded at the apparent popularity of, the measure. The promoter becomes excited, thinks he has got a sure thing, shells out another liberal fee, and the deception goes on until the funds become scarce, and the lobby, perhaps, find a new goose to pick. The measure finally comes up, the vote is taken, the case is lost, and the deceived and cheated principal goes home with the clear conviction that Congressmen have taken his money and then deserted him; the grand result being that the lobby is enriched, the individual cheated, and public men maligned. This picture is common to a majority of the schemes in which the professional lobbyist is engaged, but is not applicable to all.

#### PROSPECTIVE FEES.

It is where the fees are prospective, large, and dependent upon success that the skill of the professional is most severely tested. In these cases the measure must have some class, sectional, or other positive strength in both houses to begin with, or the professional will not touch it. It must, moreover, have plausibility, a public character, or be of general application in order to command attention in the "third house" on the promise of a prospective fee. These general and special characteristics are represented by pending bills, as the Australian and India steamship subsidies, the refund of the cotton tax, the proposed incorpo-

ration of a new telegraph company, and the soldiers' bounty land bill—the last mentioned being especially the mere creation of the claim agents in various sections of the country, and nominally in the interest of the soldier, while in fact it is to his detriment. Let statesmen stop just long enough to scan the majority of men who here and elsewhere are urging these schemes; let them compute the immense prospective fees which could be safely and profitably pledged upon Congressional sanction. Yet none of them are destitute of plausibility, and some degree of merit may be conceded to most of them. But look at the masterly combination:

As to the subsidies by which the ambition of the Pacific States and communities on the one hand, and of the commercial cities bordering the Atlantic on the other, is not only aroused, but, to a large extent, combined, though in a great degree competing interests. Then comes the refund of the cotton tax, appealing to every remaining prejudice of the Southern communities, and the bounty land bill, in appearance gathering up the sympathy and respect of the nation for the Union soldier—sentiments as opposite as the poles, yet made to do common service in this masterly combination. After carefully considering these comprehensive, plausible, and not wholly unmeritorious schemes, in view of the fact that they have been mainly conceived by the lobby, will it be contended that the sagacity, selfishness, skill, or influence of that quasi institution has been overstated? Yet, it is an irresponsible body, unknown to and unauthorized by the law, and its sins of omission and commission are necessarily saddled upon the duly elected and lawfully constituted legislature. In all this there may be and generally is no direct effort to corrupt Members or Senators—only a specious appeal to class or sectional interests—and such a combination of them as may the most certainly prevail over broader statesmanship and the general welfare.

But in these great schemes efforts do

not cease at this point. The power of the combination is carefully estimated, its numerical strength accurately computed, and the most susceptible of the opponents are made the focus of a renewed assault. They are surrounded and appealed to by their intimate and confidential friends, brought from the distant States if need be for the purpose. Newspapers are subsidized, and, while denouncing legislative corruption, will teem with facts and arguments in favor of the schemes—in fact the proposed measures are, to a limited extent, popularized, until finally the legislator, who is not wholly self-reliant, is overpowered. It is not until all these resources are exhausted that the lobbyist will seriously entertain the proposition to divide his booty with the legislator. This is always a *dernier* resort, approached with great caution and with stunted hand, more likely to fail than succeed, as the trained lobbyist well understands; therefore, being the weakest part of his game, is applied only in desperate cases.

#### NOT ALL SAINTS.

We do not desire to convey the impression that Congressmen are all either saints or Solomons—not at all; but that they are neither better nor worse because of being Congressmen, and that they are oftener sinned against than sinning.

#### A SAMPLE CASE.

It is but a few years since the vote of a leading Senator, of unquestioned integrity, was sold for \$10,000 cash, and the money actually paid to the lobby and by them divided or used for their own purposes, though the fact did not come to the knowledge of the Senator until years after; and this is the way it was done.

An important financial measure was pending, and a knowledge in advance of which way it would be decided would enable operators in the great cities to make a large amount of money; and, after a careful canvass of the views of Senators, the lobby reached the conclusion that, as this particular Senator should vote, so would the question be

decided. The position of the Senator seemed to require that he should not disclose his views until he was ready to do so on the floor of the Senate, that the whole country should be notified at the same time, and all parties be placed upon an equal footing. Through some leakage from the committee room, the lobby ascertained that the Senator was privately preparing a speech on the question, and it therefore became important to know the tenor of this speech before it could be delivered.

A person having access to the committee room undertook this task, and by unlawfully opening the desk or drawer in which the papers of the Senator were kept, procured and read the notes of the speech. Having thus surreptitiously obtained the required knowledge, the lobbyist was prepared to negotiate upon a certainty, and at once applied to the proper party with the proposition to guarantee the vote of the Senator for the sum of \$10,000, which was promptly put up and, upon the delivery of the speech and passage of the bill, paid over to the contracting party; and the agent of the parties who favored the passage of the bill, and probably the parties themselves, were left to the conviction that this distinguished Senator had actually bartered his vote for the sum of \$10,000, while, in fact, the Senator knew nothing of the matter until some two years after, when it accidentally came to his knowledge; till then he supposed that the delivery of his speech in the Senate gave the first knowledge of his views outside of the committee room.

Cases not unlike this are of common occurrence, though generally involving smaller amounts.

#### EX-CONGRESSMEN.

A common resort of the lobby is to employ ex-Congressmen as active agents, because of their better social standing and more intimate acquaintance with the members, and the further advantage of their privilege of the floor, which enables them to work more efficiently—especially while the bill may be pending—by keeping friends in their seats,

notifying the lobbyist to bring in absentees, and even, if necessary, requiring them to call opponents out of the House, and to keep them out, if possible, until the vote shall be taken. If this evil continues it will be incumbent upon both houses to deprive ex-members of the privileges of the floor.

#### BEAUTY AND CULTURE.

Another trick of the lobby is to summon to its aid, for particular individuals and occasions, attractive and cultivated women, who will assume to have some special interest in the success of the measure; or who, it is thought, may be able at least to detain members from their seats at the moment the vote is to be taken.

#### CLAIMS NEVER DIE.

The foregoing is but a hint at the leading characteristics, power, and organization of the lobby, but when it is remembered that the life of a claim against the Government is unending, and that vacancies never exist in the "third house," some idea may be formed of the dangers and difficulties which surround the well-intentioned legislator.

#### CONCLUSION.

With the expectation of referring to this colossal evil in American legislation again, we conclude with the suggestion of a partial remedy in the selection of men of great independence of character for such position, a careful scrutiny of their daily record, the call of the yeas and nays upon the passage of every bill, and, finally, as the only effective cure, the complete abolition of the "third house" by the overwhelming power of organized public opinion.

CUBA has made a gallant struggle for independence. Let the new Republic withdraw the bloodhounds of tyranny and say to the Cuban patriots, "The independence you seek is at last yours in the Republic of Spain." This would be an act worthy of freedom, and would win the applause of the world. The fairest isle of the sea may yet become the connecting link that shall unite in holy sympathy the Spanish and American Republics.

## PROFESSOR HAYDEN'S EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

A work of great importance to the material interests of the country has been in progress under the auspices of the Department of the Interior for the past six years. We refer to the United States geological survey of the Territories under the direction of Professor F. V. Hayden. The field of labor has been confined mostly to the public domain in the far West, and the results have proved so important and striking in their character that they have already attracted the attention not only of the people of our own country, but of all the cultivated nations of the globe. The passage of the act by Congress, last winter, setting apart a large tract of land as a grand national park, enclosing the wonderful scenery and remarkable phenomena about the sources of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, struck the minds of foreigners with surprise as well as delight. Within five months after the official report of Dr. Hayden's explorations in the Yellowstone region, of 1871, was published by Congress, it was translated into German, and published, with the maps and other illustrations, by the distinguished geographer, Dr. Augustus Peterman, of Gotha.

The great interest manifested by the people of our country in the results of the survey for 1871 encouraged Congress to grant a very liberal appropriation for its continuance in 1872, which enabled the chief geologist to organize two large and well-equipped parties for field work. Each party was provided with a topographer, astronomer, meteorologist, and geologist, with the necessary assistants, and a number of naturalists.

One party, under the immediate direction of Professor Hayden, the chief geologist, took Fort Ellis, Montana, as its initial point, and proceeded by the valley of the Yellowstone over a portion of the same ground as the preceding year. The survey of the park was completed in detail, and then the Madison and Gallatin rivers, with their various

branches, were carefully surveyed from their sources to their junction at the Three Forks. The materials for a map of the entire district were secured, which will be prepared in contour lines of one hundred feet.

The second party, under the direction of Mr. James Stevenson, surveyed a route from Ogden, Utah, to Fort Hall, Idaho, where full preparations were made for a pack train with supplies to proceed up Snake river. The valley drained by this large river and its branches was almost entirely unknown, and its geography very obscure on all existing maps. The party forced their way across the mountains, made a careful survey of the little-known Teton range, then passed up the valley of Henry's Fork, entered the Madison valley through the Targhee pass, and reached the Geyser basin on the 14th of August. Both parties met in this basin on the same day, though starting from points several hundred miles apart. The results of these explorations were most satisfactory, and will prove of great importance to science, as well as of vast practical value to the country. The region about the sources of Snake river was, perhaps, as little known as any portion of our continent. It was found that the existing maps are all greatly in error. The Madison lake, which had received its name in the belief that it formed the source of Madison river, was found to be in reality the origin of Snake river. This lake is about twelve miles long and eight miles wide. From this body of water flows a stream almost one hundred feet wide, which, after a distance of five miles, empties into a second lake about four miles long and a mile and a half wide. The first of these lakes was named Lake Shoshone, and the second Lake Lewis, in honor of the great pioneer explorer of the Northwest. On the south side of Lake Shoshone the Snake river party discovered a new and quite remarkable Geyser ba-

sin, containing over one hundred springs, several of which were worthy to be ranked as first-class Geysers. One of these threw up a column of water about seventy feet for a period of twenty minutes each day. The ornamentation about these springs was even more elaborate and beautiful than that of the springs in the Fire-Hole basin. The specimens, which were brought away by the party, confirm all their statements in a most decided manner.

The divide between Yellowstone lake and Lake Lewis was found to be only about fifty feet above the former, and two hundred feet above the latter. It was from this remarkable geographical feature that the idea of a two-ocean river was given to the world by the old trappers. From a high mountain above this lake a view was obtained embracing a radius of not less than one hundred and fifty miles, within which four hundred and seventy mountain peaks, worthy of a name, could be distinctly observed. The area, which could be swept with the eye from this point, could not be less than fifty thousand square miles, embracing a variety of grand and beautiful scenery—mountain, valley, and lake—that cannot probably be surpassed on this continent. Ten large lakes, with many smaller ones, could be seen in the foreground, while within the limits of the horizon the entire National Park was spread out under the eye. To the eastward the snowy summits of the Wind River and Big Horn ranges bounded the view. On the north the Snowy range, with Emigrant peak and some of the highest mountains in Montana, could be distinctly seen, while to the south and west the Wahsatch mountains, and the numerous ranges along the Salmon river, completed the mighty amphitheater. For one who is familiar with the singular purity of the atmosphere in the high latitudes it will not be exaggeration when we state that a large portion of Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, and Utah Territories is embraced in this one scope of the vision.

The opening of the Snake River valley will doubtless prove one of the most important events in the annals of our scientific explorations during the year 1872. The barometrical elevations show most feasible routes for railroads connecting the entire Northwest with the Pacific railroads. It will also open up to settlement a vast territory of land equal to the finest in that section of our country. A railroad up the Snake River valley from Utah, which is now contemplated, will bring into market a tract of pine timber estimated at twenty-five hundred square miles in extent, and a much larger area of grazing and arable lands.

The ascent of the Grand Teton must be regarded as one of the most important events of the season. Thirteen members of the party attempted to ascend the highest peak, and only two succeeded in reaching the summit, Mr. James Stevenson and Hon. N. P. Langford, superintendent of the National Park. They are undoubtedly the only white men that ever reached the summit; yet there were indications that human beings had been there before them. On the top of the Grand Teton, and for three hundred feet below, are great quantities of granite blocks of different sizes. On the summit these blocks have been placed on end, forming a breast-work three feet high, enclosing a circular space six or seven feet in diameter, and, while on the surrounding rocks there is not a particle of dust or sand, the bottom of this enclosure is covered with a bed of minute particles of granite not larger than the grains of common sand, which the elements have worn off from these vertical blocks until it is nearly a foot in depth. This attrition must have been going on for hundreds and, perhaps, thousands of years. We may infer, therefore, that these giant slabs were most probably placed in their present position by Indians many centuries ago as a protection from the wind. The height of the Grand Teton was found to be thirteen thousand and seven hundred feet, thus making it one of the

monarch peaks of the continent. The scenery of the Grand Teton range is truly Alpine in its character, approaching that type more nearly than any other known in the West. The numerous photographs, which were brought back of this wonderful region, show clearly that, for marvellous beauty and lofty grandeur, the scenery of this region is not surpassed by any other portion of the world.

While the Teton range is Alpine in its character, the cañons, waterfalls, and remarkable hot springs cast far into the shade anything of the kind which Europe can boast. Instead of our countrymen spending millions of dollars in wandering among the mountains of Europe, they would do well to visit the far more remarkable scenes in their own country.

One of the most interesting and important geographical points in the West is the region of the four passes at the head of Henry's Fork. These passes represent the four points of the compass, and are within a few miles of each other. Henry's lake is located in the center. The Targhee or East pass is seven thousand and sixty-three feet elevation, and forms one of the great gateways to the Madison valley and the sources of the Madison and Yellowstone. Henry's or South pass is about sixty-six hundred feet elevation, and opens into the Snake River valley. Red Rock or West pass is seven thousand two hundred and seventy-one feet elevation, and connects the great valley of the Jefferson Fork, while the Madison or North pass opens into the lower Madison. These remarkable passes, thus linking the Atlantic with the Pacific slope, are so smooth that a carriage could be driven over them at a high rate of speed.

Observations for latitude and longitude were made by both parties every night possible. As nearly all the nights in summer are clear in this mountain region, the observations have been numerous, and their value in locating important points as well as correcting old maps, has been very great.

The collections in geology, mineralogy,

paleontology, botany, and other branches of natural history were far greater and richer in new material than those of any previous year. The discovery by Professor Bradley, geologist of the Snake river division, of an upper member of the Potsdam group than had been previously known in the West was a very important addition to our geological knowledge.

Besides the two parties above mentioned, there were five smaller parties operating in different parts of the West under the auspices of the survey. Some differences of opinion appeared to exist among geologists in regard to the age of groups of strata belonging to the cretaceous and tertiary formations of the West, and, therefore, it seemed desirable to secure all the evidence that would throw any clear light on their relations. Professor Joseph Leidy and Professor E. D. Cope spent the summer in studying the ancient lake basins in the interior of the continent, which have now become celebrated all over the world for the richness and variety of their vertebrate fossils. These eminent gentlemen were most successful, and obtained a vast quantity of valuable material, which will be embodied in a series of memoirs, illustrated with plates, which will form volume I of the quarto series of final reports.

Professor Leo Lesquereux, our great authority in fossil botany, made a careful study of the coal regions of the West, and procured a mass of valuable information which will form a portion of volume II on the "Extinct Flora of the West."

Mr. F. B. Meek, assisted by Mr. H. M. Bannister, of the Smithsonian Institution, operated for several months along the line of the Pacific railroad. He procured much evidence from the fossil invertebrata. He is preparing volume III on the "Invertebrate Fossils of the West."

Professor Cyrus Thomas spent the entire season investigating the agricultural resources of the Northwest. He also made large collections in entomology.

He has just completed an important memoir entitled "Synopsis of the Acrididae of North America," which will constitute part 1, volume V, on the Zoology and Botany of the survey. Very valuable collections in all departments were made, which are now deposited in the National Museum.

Professor Hayden, to whose courtesy we are indebted for many of the important facts here presented to the public, is now in Washington, and, aided by his corps of scientific workers, is busily engaged in preparing his report for publication on the different branches of scientific knowledge developed by his labors during the summer of 1872. The

Professor has done much to open up the wealth, resources, and grandeur confined for centuries in the hidden recesses of the great northwestern country; and his love for the work and untiring zeal in its development are pledges that he will neither tire nor rest until his explorations have been extended to the remotest sections of unopened Western territory of the realm. His efficient first assistant, Colonel Stevenson, possesses in larger degree the peculiar quality for the work, developed in the lives of Kit Carson and Davy Crockett combined, having the daring of the first and the "be sure you're right, then go ahead" precaution and perseverance of the other.

### PENSIONS.

The pension laws and policy of the United States Government differ from those of most of the European powers. A writer in the London *Times* says:

"There are in England various classes of pensions, but they all agree in this, namely, that they are for the most part undeserved, and that the recipients do nothing for their money."

This admission, coming from the columns of a leading government organ, is significant of dissatisfaction with the system of pensions adopted in that country. In the United States the pension policy is different, and on its present basis it affords general satisfaction not only to the recipients of pensions, but to those who are taxed for their payment.

Pensions are confined almost exclusively to the military and naval service, and the amount of pension to soldiers and sailors, and their dependents, is more liberal than that of any other country. Any person disabled in the military or naval service, by wounds received or disease contracted, is entitled to a pension varying in amount according to the rank of the claimant and the degree of his disability. In case of death from wounds received or disease contracted while in the service, the widow and minor children, or if

none, then the dependent mother, or father, or minor brothers and sisters, are entitled to the pension, in the order stated.

Invalid non-commissioned officers and privates, and all of like grade in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, received, under the law of July 14, 1862, for total disability, a pension of eight dollars per month. Under subsequent acts the rate for this class was increased to fifteen dollars per month for total loss of hand or foot, or equivalent disability; twenty dollars for loss of both feet, or a hand and foot; and twenty-five dollars for loss of both hands or both eyes, or other total and permanent disability.

The pension, per month, to commissioned officers in the Army and Navy is as follows, according to rank:

"Passed midshipmen, midshipmen, captains' and paymasters' clerks, second and third assistant engineers, master's mates, and all warrant officers, ten dollars.

"Second lieutenants and enrolling officers in the Army, and first assistant engineers and pilots in the Navy, fifteen dollars.

"First lieutenants, adjutants, deputy provost marshals, regimental quartermasters, assistant surgeons, acting assistant or contract surgeons, seventeen dollars.

"Captains, provost marshals, chaplains, commissaries, and assistant quartermasters, in the Army; and professors of mathematics, masters, assistant surgeons, assistant paymasters, and chaplains in the Navy, twenty dollars.

"Majors and surgeons in the Army, and lieutenants, surgeons, chief engineers, and paymasters, (respectively ranking with lieutenants by law,) and passed assistant surgeons, in the Navy, twenty-five dollars.

"Lieutenant colonels and all officers of a higher rank in the Army; and captains, commanders, surgeons, paymasters, chief engineers, (respectively ranking with commanders by law,) and lieutenants commanding in the Navy, thirty dollars."

A widow receives the same rate of pension to which her husband would have been entitled for total disability, had he survived. The widows of privates and non-commissioned officers are entitled also to an increase of two dollars per month additional for each legitimate child born to the soldier, until it arrives at sixteen years of age. Minors of commissioned officers do not draw two dollars per month, except in the case of minors by a former marriage.

At the death or remarriage of the widow her pension of eight dollars per month is divided equally between the children, in addition to the two dollars per month to each child; but where only one child survives the widow, it receives the eight dollars without the two dollars additional. Marriage under sixteen years of age does not bar minors from receiving their pension.

If there is no widow living or unmarried, or children under sixteen years of age, mothers who depended upon the soldier for partial support are entitled to the pension of eight dollars per month; or, if there is no mother living, the father is entitled, under the same conditions; and where there is no surviving father, minor brothers and sisters will receive the pension jointly, if it can be shown that during his lifetime they depended in part upon the deceased soldier brother for support.

By the act of February 14, 1871, any person who, having been enlisted or

drafted into the volunteer or militia service in the Army or Navy of the United States, served sixty days in the war of 1812 with Great Britain, and was honorably discharged therefrom, or was personally named in any resolution of Congress for any specific service in said war, though for a less period, is entitled to a pension of eight dollars per month from the date of the act. If dead their widows are entitled to the pension, provided they were married prior to February 17, 1815, and have not since remarried.

The pension laws also provide that the widows of persons who have been killed or have died in the military or naval service of the United States of wounds received or disease contracted in the line of duty therein, since the Revolution, and of those who have died of such wounds or disease, after having been honorably discharged from such service, shall receive a pension of eight dollars per month.

At the close of the last fiscal year the total number of pensioners on the rolls was 232,229, classified as follows:

Army invalids.....	95,405
Army widows and dependent relatives.....	113,518
Survivors of the war of 1812.....	17,100
Widows of soldiers of same.....	3,027
Navy invalids.....	1,449

Navy widows and dependent relatives.....	1,730
--	-------

There were dropped from the pension rolls during the last year 9,104 pensions on account of remarriage, death, or other legal cause. During the year there were 33,838 new pensioners added to the rolls, showing, after those that were dropped are deducted, a net gain of 24,734 pensioners as the regular increase for the year.

This result, it is believed, may be taken as the average loss and gain on the pension rolls for the next three or four years, depending, however, upon the nature of future legislation upon these interests.

The average amount of pension to each class of pensioners is as follows:

Army invalid, \$90 26 per annum; \$7 52 per month.

Army widows and dependent relatives, \$128 per annum; \$10 66 $\frac{1}{2}$  per month.

Navy invalids, \$94 23 per annum; \$7 85 per month.

Navy widows and dependent relatives, \$135 61 per annum; \$12 97 per month.

The total amount paid in pensions during the last year was \$25,480,578, which, with the expenses of the bureau, salaries of pension agents, and fees to examining surgeons, involved, in round numbers, an expenditure of \$30,000,000, one of the largest items in the financial budget of the Government.

Pensions are payable quarterly by drafts on the United States Treasury, drawn by authorized pension agents. Pension agents are appointed by the President. There are at present fifty-eight pension agents, distributed as follows:

Four each in Illinois and New York.

Three each in Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Two each in Kentucky, Missouri, Michigan, New Hampshire, Tennessee, and Vermont.

None in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Nevada, South Carolina, and Texas.

One each in the other seventeen States.

One each in New Mexico, Washington Territory, and the District of Columbia.

The pension agent in Washington represents the States in which there are no authorized agents.

In 1862 pensioners in the States in rebellion were dropped from the rolls; but are being restored whenever proof of loyalty can be established.

The total amount paid by the United States Government in pensions since 1791 is \$282,458,414 76. The largest amount paid in a single year was \$33,077,883 63, which occurred in 1871. Previous to that time pensioners were paid twice a year. By act of Congress payments have since been made four times a year, causing five quarterly

payments in the year the change was made.

Time has called away the last one of the old Revolutionary soldiers, and but few of their widows remain. Of this class there were upon the pension rolls: June 30, 1869..... 887  
June 30, 1870..... 727  
June 30, 1871..... 634  
June 30, 1872..... 471

At the rate of decrease here indicated, the last one of these will soon have received her final pension payment and gone to that world where wars are unknown, peace is eternal, and pensions are no longer required.

**UTAH.**—On the 14th of February the President sent a message to Congress on the condition of affairs in Utah. A conflict is threatened between the Federal and Territorial authorities, which may call for the intervention of United States troops unless Congress places the Federal courts on a more independent basis by removing them beyond the jurisdiction of the courts created by the Legislature.

As the law now stands, the United States courts are virtually under the control of the Territorial Legislature, for the jurors serving in said courts are selected in such manner as the Legislature sees fit to prescribe. Thus the local prejudices of the Territory shape and govern the action of the United States authorities. Persons held by or under process from the courts created by Congress are discharged by probate courts, created and armed with authority to issue writs of *habeas corpus* by the Territorial Legislature.

The President is apprehensive that the exercise of this territorial authority, which overrides and defies the laws of the United States, will soon lead to open conflict, unless Congress promptly applies the remedy by modifying the power conferred by the organic act of September 9, 1850. The recommendations of the President have created consternation among the devoted followers of Brigham Young.

## THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN—HOW IT WAS WON.

The inauguration of the President constitutes, in a historic view, the beginning of the next Presidential campaign; and this is especially true when it happens that the President-elect is a candidate for a second term. On the 4th of March the new cabinet is announced, and no President has ever failed to be largely influenced by his self-chosen and confidential constitutional advisers. In fact, the secretaries who preside over the vast operations of the several executive departments, and upon whose discretion and recommendations the President is forced to rely, constitute in reality "the Administration."

When President Grant was elected he had had but little political experience. From a citizen following the ordinary pursuits of life, he rose through his military successes to an eminence so great that his grateful countrymen chose him as the Chief Magistrate of the Republic. Immediately after his election the advice was urged upon him by the self-styled metropolitan and "independent" press, and by some well-meaning men, who are galvanized into mental activity by parrot-like repetitions of stunning editorials, that he should hold himself aloof from "politicians," ignore political services, and surround himself either with a purely personal cabinet, or with business men, who could claim, like himself, to be ignorant of partisan politics.

In these suggestions there was some truth and still more plausibility. That the President should not permit the Government machinery to be subverted to advance the interests of party, or to displace competent and efficient officers to make room for political stump orators or wire-pullers, is very true; but when the doctrine is carried so far as to exclude eminent statesmen from the cabinet and from public employment simply because they are also conspicuous partisan chiefs, it becomes positively injurious; for it should be remembered that

the comprehension of the science of government is only a part of the qualifications of a statesman. He must know and embody the national will and aspirations, and command the confidence and support of more than a bare majority of the electors.

All the errors committed in the early part of the Administration grew out of the fact that the President was influenced by this pernicious advice; but he very soon realized that Boutwell, Delano, and Creswell in the Cabinet, and Morton, Chandler, and Conkling in the Senate, were safer counsellors upon political affairs than Messrs. Stewart, Borie, Grinnell, and other eminently respectable gentlemen whose lives had been devoted to commercial pursuits.

As the Administration developed its general policy, judicious and conciliatory in its conduct toward the South; progressive in its treatment of the Indians; firm yet peaceful in its foreign policy; and cautious in its management of finances and the national debt—the people overlooked all minor defects and injudicious local appointments, and elected in 1870 a majority to the House of Representatives, pledged to the support of the Administration and the further development of its general policy.

However, as the time for holding the nominating conventions of the two great political parties approached, a very serious defection became manifest. Men who had not received the personal consideration to which they deemed themselves entitled; politicians whose services had not been adequately rewarded; newspapers, which had not received the patronage and advantages which they expected; ambitious gentlemen who aspired to become candidates for the Presidency themselves; and the thousands of odds and ends of society that hate the institutions in being chiefly because they are existing; and Carl Schurz, who dreamed of consolidating the eight hundred thousand votes cast

by citizens of German nationality or descent, so that he might become the power behind the throne of the incoming Administration—greater than the throne itself—endeavored to form a combination (we will not call it a conspiracy) to secure, if possible, the overthrow of Grant within the party lines, and in case of failure, as it soon became manifest that it would be, to defeat him at the polls.

These disorganizing and heterogeneous elements were mustered and drilled by the *New York Tribune*, *New York Nation*, *Springfield Republican*, *Cincinnati Commercial*, and *Chicago Tribune*, until they deemed it advisable to call the Cincinnati Convention, where a free trade and civil service reform convention nominated the chief protectionist and the most prominent partisan politician in the United States for the Presidency.

Schurz, Trumbull, and the journals above mentioned, having resolved to desert the Republican party, had carefully prepared the way. They began as early as 1870 a system of adverse and destructive criticism both of the acts of the Administration and of Congress. They began with insinuations against the personal integrity of the President and his private secretaries, enlarged them in time so as to embrace the various departments and the custom-houses, and endeavored, while profusely protesting their devotion to the Republican party, and that these charges were made solely in the interest of its purity and perpetuity, to poison the ear of the people.

It became notorious that a great majority of the highly skilled and trained, but not over-scrupulous, corps of reporters stationed at the capital, had become prejudiced against the Administration; and that ten lines of ridicule and censure to one of commendation appeared in most of the metropolitan press of the country. As soon as the scheme had fully ripened a vast manufactory of falsehoods was established, so that it became impossible to hunt down the daily crop of misstatements and

misrepresentations which were scattered by the telegraph wires. The Associated Press agency was also secured, and thousands of Republican journals became the involuntary propagators of slanders while printing the only accessible news of the day.

But the far-seeing and watchful friends of the Republican party and the Administration were not deceived, and discerned the movements of the enemy as early as 1870. They foresaw the coming storm as clearly as "Old Probability" discerns the coming changes of the weather, and the sole question presented was, what methods could be devised to counteract these powerful and subtle agencies.

At that time the Republican Congressional Committee had but a trifle of money in its treasury; and there was no other republican political organization in possession of either means or machinery to do the necessary work. In these circumstances no payment for literary or mechanical services could be expected, while the simultaneous promulgation of the new civil service rules, which virtually forbid advancement for political reasons, tended to make the officers and clerks of the departments very generally indifferent to political work, and frequently hostile; so that in fact those gentlemen who volunteered the services of their pens did it at the peril of their good standing in some of the bureaus.

It was argued, with considerable plausibility, that, should the party in power remain in the ascendancy they would certainly be safe, while if they remained neutral, or even joined to a limited extent the enemy, they could furnish proof to the so-called Liberal Republican party, in case of success, that their official position alone prevented a more active co-operation.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, some twenty gentlemen volunteered to organize a system of correspondence to the country press, the details of which we cannot set forth without too great an encroachment upon our space. Suffice

it to say, that several of the best and most efficient campaign documents were thus devised and sent to the press in a shape that it could most readily reproduce them, and the truth concerning the official action of the Administration was duly set forth.

This organization undoubtedly saved the small Republican majority in the Congressional elections of 1870, and laid the foundation for the success in 1872. In the immediate presence of the Philadelphia nominating convention, several important subjects demanded speedy elucidation. It is well known that at least 500,000 more votes are cast at a Presidential contest than at the most exciting contests in the intermediate Congressional elections. One question, therefore, was: What is the opinion of this half a million of reserved voters concerning the conduct of the Administration, and how can their judgment and that of all the people be most readily and effectively influenced?

There are two divergent ways of reaching the public, from the aggregate to the individual, or from the individual to the mass of the community. Bargains can be made with the so-called workers of the party—the county, township, and ward politicians—and they can be stimulated by a lavish expenditure of money into considerable activity; or the attempt can be made to convince the community as a whole, by the circulation of speeches and documents, leaving the local politicians to the action of the popular sentiment.

The Greeley party expended very considerable sums of money through its central organizations to enlist the local strikers of New York and other cities, and thus frittered away its means and strength. In fact, the larger proportion of its means were wasted upon unworthy men; and it took a sound judgment and an iron will to resist offers like Hauserreck's, at Cincinnati, who promised to sell himself and paper for \$15,000. We are very sure the offers of individuals engaged in the various walks of life who promised to work and to control hun-

dreds of voters, if proper compensation or engagements for appointments to office were made, number several thousands, all giving many plausible reasons for their demands. These offers were uniformly, but courteously declined, and this alone enabled the Republican Campaign Committee to make \$105,000 defray all the expenses of this long and earnestly-contested campaign.

The next question presented was, how can the judgment and conscience of this vast mass of humanity, engaged in every known pursuit of life, and living scattered over a vast continent, be best reached and favorably affected? It was resolved to publish chiefly affirmative documents, setting forth plainly and accurately what the Republican party had done and proposed to do in the future. Notwithstanding the temptation was great to retaliate upon the Opposition, and to expose their shortcomings, or to refute in detail their falsehoods, deliberately manufactured, the documents of the committee were confined, with one exception, to the exposition of the financial and foreign and domestic policy of the Administration. These documents were, moreover, thoroughly revised by a committee composed of well-informed and most conscientious gentlemen, whose duty it was to see that no statement was made that was not absolutely correct. Thus a degree of confidence was established in the publications of the committee which no previous campaign documents had enjoyed.

The sole exception to the publication of affirmative documents was the "Greeley Record," which was a compilation of his curious and contradictory opinions, taken from the columns of the *Tribune*, and published without comments. A bound volume of these documents, equal in size to a volume of Appleton's Cyclopaedia, is now before us, and we doubt whether a similar amount or variety of political information has ever been condensed into a similar space.

The committee were, moreover, exceedingly desirous to make the number of documents as few in number as possible.

Before the printing of any document was ordered, two questions were first considered: is there a special demand for its publication, and, has not the subject already been covered by a previous publication? It is a most striking evidence of the variety of subjects demanding attention, and the immense range of the line of attack and defense, that the number of publications reached upwards of one hundred and fifty.

Assuming, then, that the public press and public opinion could be influenced by the publication and judicious distribution of these documents, the next question presented was the organization of a sufficient force to place these millions of documents in the hands of the proper parties. A tabular statement, prepared by the committee, shows that great care was taken to have the appropriate documents reach the classes of men who were interested in the question discussed. It is true nearly all of the documents were equally applicable, to some extent, to all classes, but the national finance and debt statements would be of greater value to business men, while the eight-hour law legislation would be of more interest to the workingman.

All the German campaign documents—some forty in number—were prepared by three gentlemen, in whose care the subject was placed.

The distributive branch of the service was organized into divisions and sections, and the annexed table shows how thoroughly the work was performed. A large number of gentlemen connected with the executive branch of the Government generously volunteered their services to the committee, and during the hottest of the campaign several hundred persons were employed in carrying on the work of distribution. The total number of documents printed and distributed was 13,018,575, or about two documents to each voter, and their circulation is herewith given in detail:

#### CLASSIFIED BY STATES.

Alabama .....	190,718
Arkansas.....	125,185
California.....	97,807

District of Columbia .....	114,092
Delaware .....	69,585
Florida.....	66,058
Georgia .....	196,008
Illinois.....	812,125
Indiana .....	770,775
Iowa.....	246,526
Kansas.....	282,759
Kentucky .....	425,159
Louisiana .....	226,297
Massachusetts.....	116,474
Maine.....	217,260
Maryland.....	185,407
Minnesota .....	224,022
Mississippi .....	187,493
Missouri.....	423,278
Nebraska .....	109,338
North Carolina.....	452,010
New Hampshire.....	168,784
New Jersey .....	227,360
New York .....	1,108,705
Nevada .....	15,963
Ohio .....	885,400
Oregon .....	27,858
Pennsylvania.....	885,419
Rhode Island.....	17,612
South Carolina .....	82,714
Tennessee.....	312,068
Texas .....	145,389
Virginia.....	582,955
Vermont .....	27,720
West Virginia.....	197,978
Wisconsin.....	194,201

#### UNCLASSIFIED.

Southern Republican Association .....	676,144
Pacific States Republican Association .....	103,880
Clubs and special lists.....	248,188
English newspaper press .....	296,121
German newspaper press .....	31,234
Miscellaneous and Territories ..	747,791

Another subject of interest is the aggregate cost of this enormous amount of printing, and the clerical labor necessary to secure prompt distribution. It was charged by the opposition that enormous sums of money were used to subsidize the press and to influence the judgment of the people. Horace Greeley himself declared in one of his speeches that out of five millions, which he be-

lieved had been unjustly voted out of the Treasury, at least two millions were being used for campaign expenses. The total expenditures of a fiercely contested presidential campaign to both parties will never be known, nor are we able to give the expenditures of the National Republican Committee, of which the Hon. W. E. Chandler was secretary, and which had its headquarters at New York; but the expenditures of the National Congressional Committee, of which the Hon. Z. Chandler was chairman and the Hon. J. M. Edmunds secretary, and which undertook the above-mentioned work, we can give approximately, as follows:

Printing, paper, and presswork.	\$79,000
Stationery, envelopes, &c.	10,000
Clerical and other labor	10,000
Incidental expenses	5,000
Total	\$104,000

Never was so great an amount of work performed so cheaply. All the documents were prepared without charge, and a very large proportion of the clerical labor was performed gratuitously, and the printing was contracted for at less rates than any private firm has ever obtained.

The impression has prevailed that money was superabundant, but the truth is that fully two-thirds of the subscriptions were paid after the October elections had rendered the success of the Republican party absolutely certain.

Up to the time of the North Carolina election, when the Liberals were full of hope and loud in their boastings, money was exceedingly scarce, and it was but human nature that many civil officers should shield themselves behind the Executive order, that no assessments should be made, and to construe the meaning of civil service reform into political indifference on the part of office-holders.

Never was a campaign fought and won under greater difficulties, and though it was finally carried by an overwhelming majority, owing to the influence of the October elections, there was, nevertheless, a time when it could have been lost by imprudent management.

The men who, with clear judgment, profound sagacity, and iron will, labored for several years to accomplish these magnificent results have preferred that their influence for the future should not be impaired, either by a parade of their names or by solicitations of higher official positions. Conscious of the very great services that they have rendered to the state, and rejoicing in their increasing power to advance the political interests of the country, whose institutions they revere, their sole reward is the consciousness of duties fully discharged, and of tasks successfully performed.

**THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.**—The *Tribune* devotes the columns of a supplement each week to the publication of letters, new and old, from its present friends and old enemies, showing how very dear the *Tribune* has become to them since Whitelaw Reid assumed control. Whitelaw might as well publish some of the letters from his many bundles of old love-letters to win back the love of a girl that has given him the mitten, as to publish these tokens of affection with a view of retaining his list of old Republican subscribers. A few letters from loyal men might add to the variety, but they could not stop the downward tendency of the *Tribune* subscription list.

**RAILROAD ACCIDENTS.**—During the past ten years 8,800 people were killed or injured on railways of Great Britain. From 1865 to 1869, inclusive, a period of only five years, over 7,500 persons were killed or injured on the railroads of New York and Pennsylvania alone. These facts show either bad management or gross carelessness on the part of our railroad companies. To protect the traveling public, Hon. Andrew King, of Missouri, introduced into the House a bill to compel all railroads in the United States on and after January 1, 1874, to equip all passenger trains with a power brake, operated by the engineer. This is a step in the right direction.

## IS A NEW POLITICAL PARTY ESSENTIAL TO SECURE PURIFICATION ?

A leading editorial of that able but captious journal, *The Nation*, recommends as the sole remedy, in view of the Credit Mobilier and other scandals, which the late investigations have dragged before the public gaze, the formation of a new political organization. This new party is to be formed for the express purpose of securing the "purification" of Congress, the "independence" of the judiciary, and general administrative reforms; and is to be composed of "whatever good elements the Republican party may contain, and of many others which it does not." In fact, in *The Nation's* opinion, nothing short of "the combination of the good of all parties can save us."

This is the view which induced a number of most honorable gentlemen to sign the call for the late Cincinnati Convention; but (and we have the authority of *The Nation* itself for the statement) after they had assembled and the movement promised success, the convention and platform both were bodily carried off by the political highwaymen of the Wilmot and Fenton stripe, to the utmost astonishment and consternation of the unsophisticated and scholarly gentlemen who inaugurated the movement. Nor can *The Nation* give us any guarantee, in view of the progress made since then in political charlatanry, that a new movement would not meet a similar fate. There is no possibility, as *The Nation* well knows, of keeping dishonest men out of church and political organizations, if they profess a belief in their avowed purposes, and become zealous workers in the cause. Therefore, as long as public opinion is disposed to regard with leniency the Credit Mobilier and similar transactions, all new parties will become overwhelmed with the irresistible current of bad elements as soon as they promise success.

There are neither legal nor moral impediments in the way of "the good elements of all parties" seizing the excel-

lent machinery of the dominant party to accomplish the desirable ends enumerated in *The Nation's* platform, with the exception of its peculiar notions of free trade, which are not shared by any considerable portion of the American people, and which seem to cling to the editor as part of his British inheritance, and which do not at all involve any question of ethics, but only of expediency. The platform of the Republican party avows precisely the same objects which *The Nation* puts forth. If, then, *The Nation* is really desirous to secure the execution of its principles, it ought to advise the pure men of all parties to join the Republican party, so as to enable them to take an active part in its counsels, and aid it to drive dishonest men from power.

Are we told that this is not practicable? How are all political parties formed and controlled? By attendance at the primary conventions in cities, villages, and townships. If, then, the imaginary army of pure men, marshalled by *The Nation*, finds it inconvenient to attend primary meetings now, how does it propose to manage its new party? We are not aware that *The Nation* has devised any other machinery than primary caucuses and conventions. And if not, why assume the still more arduous task of creating a new party, with all the disadvantages under which such a movement would necessarily labor, instead of controlling the existing machinery of the Republican party? Political parties can only be means, but not ends; and if the pure men of the country cannot accomplish this, they will be still less able to eliminate the good qualities from existing parties, and separate the sheep from the goats. There is, moreover, a natural and almost universal aversion and jealousy of men who claim to be the preeminently "good men," and who assume to be the reformers *par excellence*, which in itself will be one of the chief obstacles to its success.

A party that has been long in power necessarily labors under the disadvantage that the rascally elements, which seem to be "wiser than the children of light," crowd into its primary meetings to subvert the party machinery to their nefarious uses. They do not care to start the "rogues party" to distinguish themselves from the "good men's party," as long as they can reap the spoils under a less objectionable name. But in view of Brooks's late letter, and the public receptions tendered to other men of scarcely more honesty, should *The Nation* succeed in persuading the moral men of our land to wait for the chimera of a good man's party in the good time coming, the rogues may take it into their heads to expatriate or put in jail what few good men remain, and thus secure themselves from further impudent investigations or "censorious" molestations.

We ourselves believe that there is grave peril for our institutions. We hold that republican institutions are being disgraced before the entire world by these Credit Mobilier scandals, and we earnestly insist that the patriotism and honesty nestling on the hillsides and in the vales of the American continent should be incited to extraordinary activity to punish the hypocritical rascals that have betrayed the public trust; but this can only be done by a full attendance at all primary meetings, and by a bolt at the polls whenever a bad man has succeeded in obtaining a nomination. We, therefore, beg *The Nation* to take the lead within the Republican party, where it belongs, instead of frittering away its influence on impossible objects.

One of the main causes of the present state of affairs is the injustice which *The Nation* and other journals have done to a number of our public men conspicuous for their personal integrity. There is, for instance, Senator Conkling, whose public and private life is as pure as that of any Senator in the present or the past; but *The Nation* has never uttered a word of encouragement. Then there is Senator Chandler, who, both as Senator and

as chairman of the Congressional Committee, has labored unceasingly to defeat the many monstrous schemes of plunder that were pending. It ought to be known to *The Nation* that the squandering of the entire arable domain, over four hundred millions of acres; the refunding of the cotton tax, \$60,000,000; steamship subsidies, of which the Australian project was but one, amounting to \$20,000,000; grants to private parties for the construction of inter-State canals of at least \$20,000,000—were among the measures represented by a most powerful and numerous lobby, and which were only defeated by extraordinary exertions. We are not at liberty to state the manner in which their defeat was organized, but Messrs. Chandler and Conkling were most earnest and effective in their opposition. Had, for instance, the Australian project, which only failed in the Senate by two votes, been successful, the combination behind it would most probably have been successful in securing the passage of all kindred measures.

Yet *The Nation* has never spoken a respectful word concerning Mr. Chandler, but has parrot-like repeated the stories of the lobby—deliberately manufactured to break his influence and to impair his usefulness.

Again, probably there is no living man who has earned so full a measure of hatred of the thieves and rascals of the land than the Secretary of the Treasury. Hard and thorny is the path of the public officer, and particularly of the head of the Treasury, who single-handed fights the battle of the public against private interests. From the Pacific railway down to the imperious Congressman, who insists on a place of some kind for a male or female friend, there are a variety of interests struggling for recognition, which worry and weary the stoutest heart. Yet, while the senatorial contest was pending, *The Nation*, whom Secretary Boutwell does not suit on account of his heterodox financial views, used whatever influence it had to substitute a Dawes, or some one else, for Mr. Boutwell; and not the slightest re-

cognition of his invaluable services as a man of unimpeachable integrity has ever escaped its pen.

Up to the late election concentrated efforts were made to bring home charges involving the personal honor of the President and his private secretary, General Babcock. Since the election these charges have sunk into oblivion by their own weight of baseness. While the President has instituted a most careful scrutiny of private bills, and has vetoed several which would become precedents for taking many millions of dollars from the Treasury, and has stood, "as far as one man can," by the spirit of the civil service rules, we have yet to see the slightest recognition by *The Nation* of his zeal in the cause of reform.

We have thus particularly alluded to *The Nation* because it is the most respectable and able of the self-styled independent press; and we have pointed out its partisanship and unfairness, because among the great shields of rascals is adverse criticism of honest men. Indiscriminate and constant censure of all

public men, with no word of encouragement to any, is one of the main foundations of public unfaithfulness.

The present generation has been moulded and educated by the public press, which has devoted more than one-half of its space to denunciations of men and measures. And what has been the result? It is obvious to all men that this course of journalism has plunged the nation down to the very verge of moral bankruptcy. In view of these facts, would it not be well to give credit to our public men for the good they may accomplish? Would it not be wiser to raise them in their own self-respect, and in the estimation of the public? Would it not be more patriotic to encourage all good men to attend the primary meetings, as a solemn duty, with a view of keeping the machinery of government in honest hands, instead of advising them to stand aloof, or sending them off on the wild-goose chase of the formation of impossible new parties in millennium times, while the present alone is ours, and deserving of our entire attention?

### SOLDIERS' BOUNTIES.

Thousands of claims for pay and bounty are annually rejected by the Second Auditor of the Treasury Department of the United States, because an examination of the official records shows that the soldiers or their heirs applying have already received all that can be paid them under existing laws. The examination of these claims requires considerable labor, and consumes time and attention that should be devoted to the adjustment of claims that are really meritorious. Before filing a claim the party interested should be satisfied that something is due. If arrears of pay are claimed by a discharged soldier, the time for which pay is asked should be clearly stated. If bounty is claimed, the act under which the claim is made should be given in the application. This will facilitate the work of the Department, and save the applicant unnecessary trouble. The pay proper of a

soldier is easily determined. There can be no misunderstanding on that point. Every volunteer knows the amount of his monthly pay, and if he has failed to receive it for any portion of his service, he should be able to state the time and amount. But in the payment of bounty there are so many laws, and so many complex questions arising therefrom, that occasional mistakes in applying for bounty when none is due are quite excusable. We purpose in this article to review the bounty laws, and to give such information as may be useful in leading the soldier or his heirs to a proper understanding of their rights under existing laws.

The amount of bounty due depends upon the date and term of enlistment. On the 3d of May, 1861, the President issued a Proclamation calling for 40,000 volunteers, to serve three years. On the

25th of May, 1861, the War Department issued General Order No. 25. By this order, the volunteers enlisting for three years were promised \$100 bounty at the expiration of their term of service or whenever honorably discharged. Eighty thousand men entered the service under this order. The act of July 22, 1861, made the payment of the \$100 bounty dependent upon at least two years' service. This law was held to apply to those already in service, and the \$100 bounty promised by General Order No. 25 was denied to all who had been discharged before serving two years. In March, 1870, the Supreme Court decided, on a test case brought before it, that the law of July 22, 1861, so far as it provided for the payment of bounty after two years' service, did not apply to volunteers who entered the service for three years under the operation of General Order No. 25.

On the 22d of April, 1872, Congress passed an act, covering the decision of the Court, granting \$100 bounty to all soldiers who enlisted for three years prior to July 22, 1861, under General Order 25, provided they were mustered prior to August 6, 1861, were honorably discharged, and had not already received the bounty. Under this act, *the heirs of a soldier are not entitled to the bounty.* It must be paid to the soldier himself. If he is dead, his heirs have no claim.

Soldiers discharged to receive promotion are not entitled to this bounty. Such discharge is not considered a withdrawal from the service, within the meaning of the law. Soldiers who have received \$200 bounty—\$100 of which was additional bounty, act July 28, 1866—have no claim. Strictly speaking, they have a claim to bounty—April 22, 1872—but its amount is cancelled by the additional bounty paid. To illustrate: Many of the soldiers enlisting between May 4, 1861, and July 22, 1861, were discharged before serving two years. They subsequently reentered the service, and received \$100 bounty on their second enlistment. They also received the additional bounty, act July 28, 1866, making in all

\$200 bounty. They now claim bounty under act April 22, 1872. If they are entitled to it, they were not entitled to receive the additional bounty already paid, for the act of July 28, 1866, expressly forbids the payment of additional bounty to those *who have received, or are entitled to receive, more than \$100 bounty.* Therefore it will be useless expense for a soldier who has received bounty on his second enlistment, and the \$100 additional bounty paid would cancel the \$100 claimed under the last-named act.

Volunteers entering the service between April 12, 1861, and December 24, 1863, for two and three years, are entitled to receive, under act July 22, 1861, \$100 bounty at the end of their term, or on discharge, after two years' service. This bounty is payable to the soldier or his heirs. The widow, children, parents, brothers and sisters, in the order named, are the only heirs entitled under the act. The parents, or the brothers and sisters, must have been residents of the United States at the death of the soldier to entitle them to the bounty. If a soldier died unmarried, leaving a father or mother in Europe, and a brother or sister in the United States, the father in Europe would be entitled to the arrears of pay, but the bounty would be paid to the heir or heirs resident of the United States at the death of the soldier.

Soldiers enlisting between July 5, 1862, and December 24, 1863, received \$25 advance bounty, leaving \$75 due at end of term. Between December 24, 1863, and April 1, 1864, volunteer recruits for three years, to new organizations, were entitled to receive \$300 bounty, payable in installments—first, \$60 on enlistment; second, \$40 after two months' service; third, \$40 after six months; fourth, \$40 after twelve months; fifth, \$40 after twenty-four months, and the balance at the close of the term.

Recruits to old organizations—those already in the field—enlisting for three years between October 24, 1863, and April 1, 1864, were entitled to receive \$300

bounty, payable in instalments, as above. Veterans were volunteers enlisting for three years between January 1, 1863, and April 1, 1864, who had previously served nine months or over. They were entitled to \$400 bounty, payable as above, each instalment, after the first, to be \$50 instead of \$40, as given to the recruits.

These large bounties were promised by orders from the War Department, and legalized by Joint Resolutions of Congress, December 23, 1863; January 13, 1864, and March 3, 1864.

Soldiers enlisted under these provisions are entitled to the full bounty if discharged on account of wounds received in line of duty. If discharged on account of disease, only the instalments accruing at date of discharge can be paid. If discharged because their services were no longer required, or at close of the war, the full bounty is due. This bounty is payable to the heirs named in the act of July 22, 1861; first, the widow; second, children; third, father or mother, if residents of the United States at the death of soldier; fourth, brothers or sisters—same condition as parents in regard to residence. The right of heirship follows in the order given.

Soldiers enlisting for two and three years, between April 1, 1864, and July 18, 1864, received \$100 bounty—same as provided by act July 22, 1861. Soldiers enlisting between July, 18, 1864, and April 30, 1865, were governed by the act of July 4, 1864, providing for the payment of bounty to men enlisting for one, two, and three years. One year's service was to receive \$100 bounty; two years', \$200; three years', \$300. This bounty was to be paid in instalments, one-third on entering the service; one-third at the expiration of half the term of enlistment, and the remaining third at the end of the term. There are several peculiarities about this bounty which should be remembered. It differs in several essential features from others given. The soldier who is mustered out with his regiment because of the close of the war, or because his services are no longer required, can only receive the instalments

which accrued up to the time of his discharge. If he was discharged for wounds he would be entitled to the full bounty; if he died in the service his heirs would be entitled to full bounty. It also differs in point of heirship. It can be paid to the widow or children, and to the mother if a widow at date of soldier's death. The widowed mother, under this act, is not required to be a resident of the United States. Fathers are not entitled to this bounty, nor brothers and sisters. Accrued instalments are regarded as arrears of pay, having been earned by the soldier according to the terms of the law. Such instalments can be paid to the father if the soldier died unmarried, or to brothers and sisters if the parents are dead. Under acts of March 3, 1863; March 3, 1865; and joint resolution April 12, 1866, soldiers discharged on account of wounds or injuries received in the line of duty, are entitled to receive the bounty they would have received if they had served the full term of enlistment. Disease, or disability resulting from disease, are not considered injuries within the meaning of the law.

Drafted men and *their* substitutes entering the service for *three* years, between March 3, 1863, and September 5, 1864, are entitled to \$100 bounty. After September 5, 1864, drafted men are not entitled to bounty. Neither drafted men nor substitutes are entitled to additional bounty.

Additional bounty, act July 28, 1866, is payable to the soldier, to his widow, minor children, (minors at the passage of the act,) or parents, and only on condition that the soldier, or if he be dead, his heirs, have received, or are entitled to receive, no greater bounty than \$100 under other laws. If the widow of the soldier remarried prior to July 28, 1866, she is not entitled.

The act provides for the payment of \$100 to men enlisting for three years who have received, or are entitled to receive, no greater bounty than \$100. Two years' service under above conditions entitles the soldier to \$50 additional bounty. If a soldier is discharged on account

of disease, and dies from its effects before July 28, 1866, his heirs, as named above, are entitled to the additional bounty. A soldier serving two years, and discharged to accept promotion, is not entitled under this act. The time for filing claims under this law expired, by limitation, January 31, 1873. Unless Congress should again extend the time, claims filed subsequent to that date cannot be entertained by the Department. These facts, which have been carefully collated, may serve to guide the soldier or his heirs to an understanding of how far the various bounty laws affect them, and may save thousands throughout the land the trouble and expense of filing claims that cannot be allowed under existing laws.

**COST OF WAR.**—The actual cost of war can never be computed in dollars and cents. The injury inflicted upon the industrial interests of both parties; the devastation of whole sections; the complete destruction of private and public property, are beyond calculation. It is estimated that \$3,000,000,000 would not make good the damage done to the South during the late war, and that not less than \$5,000,000,000 would be required to cover the losses of the North during the same time. There are some items, however, within our reach—items that go to make up our official records—that serve to show the magnitude of the late struggle for national life. We have gathered some of the leading items and commend them to our readers as worthy of preservation:

Payment to troops.....\$1,029,239,000

Cost of disbursements, including losses and expenses, three-quarters of one per cent.

Aggregate military force, May

1, 1865.....1,516,000

Aggregate of calls.....2,759,049

Enlisted.....2,656,553

Emergency men, not included above.....120,000

Colored troops.....178,975

Aggregate number, reduced to a three-years' standard.....2,154,311

Eighty per cent. of enlistments native citizens. Seven hundred ocean trans-

ports employed. Fifteen thousand miles of military telegraph constructed.

Prisoners released and paroled at close of the war.....237,655

Soldiers and others buried in cemeteries by Quartermaster's Department.....315,555

General Hospitals .....204

Number of cases treated in general hospitals.....1,057,423

Number of beds .....136,894

Mortality eight per cent.

Surgeons employed.....12,145

Hospital chaplains.....265

Soldiers killed or died of wounds.....93,969

Died of disease.....186,216

Unknown.....24,184

Total number on sick reports during the war was : White, 5,825,480 ; colored, 629,354.

The magnitude of our military force, and the cost of its maintenance may be better understood by a few leading items from the Quartermaster's Department:

Corn purchased, bushels.....23,000,000

Oats.....78,000,000

Barley.....93,000

Hay, tons.....1,500,000

Straw.....20,000

Coal.....1,600,000

Wood, cords .....540,000

The estimated cash value of supplies distributed by the Sanitary Commission during the war was about \$12,000,000. The growth of this commission is best illustrated by the funds contributed for its support during the five years of its existence:

1861.....\$43,315 95

1862.....578,961 29

1863.....323,474 94

1864.....2,563,479 97

1865.....1,414,816 84

Total.....\$4,924,048 99

No less useful in its work was the Christian Commission. Its delegates numbered 4,850. They were found upon every battle-field, ready to minister to the physical or spiritual wants of the sick and wounded.

In 1862 the contributions for its support were.....\$231,256 28

In 1863.....916,837 65

In 1864.....2,882,347 86

In 1865.....2,234,165 88

Total.....\$6,264,607 67

## MISCELLANEOUS.

**THE COUNTRY PRESS.**—A careful examination of several hundred of our exchanges has brought to us the conviction that the county and village weeklies have greatly improved in usefulness and power during the last decade.

The journals that are not well printed, and that present a repellent appearance to the reader, are the exception, and are becoming quite rare. They all pay a much greater attention to local affairs than in times past, and many of them are conducted with thoughtfulness and ability. One of the most hopeful signs for their future is their individuality and independence.

The thunder of the city press, which feels itself compelled to treat every occurrence in a sensational and theatrical manner, falls upon unattentive ears. The country editor has learned by long experience that at the end of a week, when his paper reaches the eye of the public, a sensational article upon the same subject would be as unseasonable as a linen coat in a snow storm.

Congressional legislation ought not to throw obstacles in the way of this truly educational interest; and we hope that all attempts to compel prepayment of postage on newspapers addressed to regular subscribers will be abandoned. We are also opposed to all interference with the free carriage of exchange papers, because a postage tax would greatly impair the usefulness of the hundreds of village papers, which are so great a convenience to our citizens. The city press would refuse to exchange unless the county editor would pay the postage on both publications, and thus his channels of information would become narrowed down to one or two daily papers and a few neighborhood weeklies.

The free circulation of the county paper within the limits of the county makes but little, if any, additional cost to the Post Office Department, and we hope that this privilege will not be withdrawn.

It is one of the special missions of the

Republican party to encourage education and to aid in the dissemination of correct political views, and we hope that its leading men will not sanction a policy so reactionary and unwise.

It is precisely in proportion that the local press is independent and influential, and our citizens are fully informed, that the Republican party has been sustained, and, therefore, to strike at the country press would be in the nature of a removal of one of its main pillars.

The village paper has converted thousands of youths into readers, writers, and thinkers, who would have been utterly indifferent to literature if they had not had a chance to appear in print upon some local subject in their boyhood or girlhood years. A town without a paper is a nonentity; it is a sleepy hollow without a poet to usher it into fame. As soon as a village becomes ambitious to attract its share of emigration, and to secure to its citizens their share of political influence, a paper becomes a necessity, and a good paper has frequently brought insignificant villages to the attention of the entire country.

Strangers always judge the enterprise and business prospects of a village by the character of its papers. If its advertisements consist chiefly of patent medicine and other foreign advertisements, and mortgage and chancery sales, it is a notice of "hands off;" but if its columns are well filled with interesting reading, local items, and live home advertisements, the verdict is at once, this must be a live place, just the home for an enterprising and educated man.

One of the chief means to secure immigration to new places is the sending of the village paper to acquaintances and friends in the East. If the most enterprising citizens of our Western villages were to subscribe for several hundred copies to be sent to former friends they would secure a steady flow of most valuable immigration.

It is true the reasons we have given

why the country press should be liberally supported are only such as have occurred to us all, and have probably been stated in better form hitherto, but when this great and beneficent interest is threatened with adverse legislation, it is necessary to restate the case.

THE END OF CREDIT MOBILIER.—On the 27th of February the House of Representatives took final action on the report of the Credit Mobilier committee. The House was governed in this case by the suggestion of the preamble of Mr. Sargent's resolutions, that, considering the long time that had elapsed since the offense had been committed, and that as Ames and Brooks both had since been twice reelected, there was considerable doubt concerning the constitutional jurisdiction of the House over the offense, and, therefore, commuted the punishment from expulsion to condemnation. It is true that the House subsequently, by a close vote, rejected the preamble, so that it might not become a parliamentary precedent, but the members were nevertheless largely influenced by the facts therein recited. Thus, while the report of the committee was sustained on all points by a majority of six to one, the House substituted utter condemnation for expulsion. It was well that the committee reported this severe measure, and threw upon the House the responsibility of its modification, and it is, perhaps, best, considering all the circumstances, that the House has virtually remitted the question of punishment to the constituents of the members implicated. It is our conviction that none of those whom the people really believe to have been guilty of falsehood and perjury, and who actively promoted the schemes of those who robbed the Union Pacific railroad, and incidentally the Government, will politically survive. As to the question of guilt, we need not fear but that the political and personal enemies of the gentlemen whose names have been ever so remotely connected with the transaction will make the most of the evidence.

THE SIGNAL SERVICE.—This useful branch of the War Department is daily gaining in public favor. Its predictions of the weather have been so accurate that skeptics have been converted into believers, and few can now be found foolish enough to ignore its timely warnings.

The display of cautionary signals in our principal harbors has saved many ships from disaster, and has won for the service the gratitude of the mariner and the confidence of our shipping merchants. The day may be fine, the wind fair, but if "Old Probabilities" hangs out his cautionary flag, the oldest sailor respects the warning and prepares for the approaching storm. He has been taught by experience that science can outstrip his vision and foretell the coming storm at least a day before he snuffs the approach of danger.

This important feature of the signal service is but one of many that daily confer positive benefits upon our people. The weather probabilities, as published daily in our leading journals, are consulted by tens of thousands as oracles of truth, and by those who know their true value are implicitly relied upon. The traveler, the merchant, the manufacturer, the mechanic—in fact every man or woman whether calculating on business or pleasure, receive more or less advantage from these accurate predictions of the signal service.

To the farmers of our country the service is destined to be of incalculable value. Its benefits heretofore have been confined to the farmers living near the signal stations, or along lines where the bulletins have been distributed; but the large majority have not been able to avail themselves of the benefits of the service. By a recent arrangement made through the Post Office Department weather bulletins are to be sent hereafter daily to all post offices east of the Mississippi that can be reached by 6 p. m. The local postmaster is charged with the duty of placing these bulletins in a conspicuous place, so all who visit the office can become acquainted with

the probabilities of the weather for the coming day. By this means it is hoped that thousands of farmers, and others interested, will receive the advantages of a timely notice of approaching storms or sudden changes in temperature. A few hours' notice of rain or heavy frost would enable the farmer to protect himself against loss. When we consider the magnitude of our agricultural interests and the heavy loss which oftentimes follows a single storm, we can readily appreciate this new arrangement which divides the country into signal districts, each having a common centre, communicating to distant towns the accurate predictions of what the weather will be on the following day.

The service is still in its infancy. Its stations will yet encircle the globe, and storms that sweep from across the ocean will be foretold days before they burst upon our coast. The tidal waves of cold that deluge the land with snow will be heralded days in advance of their coming, and the lucky guesses of the almanac-maker will be surpassed by the accurate predictions of the signal service.

**HONESTY PAYS.**—It pays to be honest. It pays in more ways than one. It not only pays in the satisfaction it brings, but, in the long run, it pays in dollars and cents. The mechanic, the merchant, the manufacturer, the lawyer—in fact, every man that seeks advancement through his labors will find that honesty is not only the best policy, but the best stock in trade that he can have. It may take longer to earn a fortune by honest labor, but once earned, it will last longer and buy more solid comfort than double the amount earned by dishonest means. There is something better than wealth. Integrity is priceless. Money cannot buy it. The rich man may envy the poor man its possession, yet the rich can have it if they seek it from the beginning. Start *right*, young man. Let no ambitious whispers lead you astray. Be determined to deal on the square with your fellow man. Every dollar thus earned will bring a blessing to your

heart. If you can't make money honestly you had better remain poor all your life. It will not pay to exchange your honesty for a few dollars and cents. Money made by cheating your neighbors will burn into your conscience and destroy forever your earthly happiness. Does ambition lead the citizen to high political power? Let him understand that the only sure foothold in climbing the rugged steep of fame is honesty of purpose. He may have brilliant ability, may charm the eye and please the ear, but if he lack integrity he lacks the one great element of lasting power. If he is false to himself he will be false to others, and his fall will be as certain as his elevation was rapid. The wrecks of ambitious statesmen are to be seen on every side. They had ability; they had the confidence of the people; they were elevated to power and influence, but they lacked honesty and they fell—moral wrecks made so by their own folly. Let their fate be a warning to public men. Let personal integrity be the priceless jewel that money can neither buy nor sell. The fame that is built upon honesty will stand like the shaft of granite, the emblem of beauty and eternal strength.

**POLITICAL MORALITY.**—It is quite refreshing to note the comments of the Opposition press on the result of the Credit Mobilier investigation. To read some of these journals, one would think that they were the exponents of a party that never sinned; that held in its keeping all the public and private virtue in the land. Democratic editors who never had a word to say against the sin of rebellion; who defended Tweed and his brother thieves as high-toned gentlemen and model public servants; who have grown rich by using their columns to advocate and justify the schemes of a corrupt lobby, suddenly assume an air of saintly innocence, and proceed to lecture the nation on the sins and shortcomings of the Republican party.

The spectacle is a novel one, and we trust these self-appointed guardians of public purity will keep at their work and give their hard-shell readers a daily lec-

ture on the beauty and necessity of political honesty. It will do good both to writer and reader. The Democratic editor may infuse in his own system a little genuine honesty by continually exercising his brains over honest sentiments. His subscribers, who take their intellectual food at his table, may think the conversion genuine, and be thus led to honest reformation themselves.

So keep up your show of virtuous indignation, gentlemen; you can do no harm to the Republican party, but may succeed in penetrating the sin-toughened hide of Democracy with a feeling of remorse that will awaken some of its leaders to make efforts to save themselves, if not the party they adhere to. If this Credit Mobilier business leads our Democratic neighbors to a closer intimacy with their long-neglected bibles, and forces them to look over a few chapters on honesty to know what it really means, and how to write on the subject, we may reasonably expect, as the logical result, a general breaking up of the Democratic party during the next four years. If the Republican party by investigating the shortcomings of a few of its members, can start the Democratic party in pursuit after honesty, why should not the world rejoice?

---

**THE FARMERS' WAR AGAINST RAILWAYS.**—In Illinois particularly, and in the Western States generally, a systematic agitation has begun among the farmers to secure the passage of laws to regulate the tolls charged for passengers and freight. This is but the beginning of a long and bitter fight between the producers and the carriers of passengers and freight. It is in the nature of a strike against the extortions of organized capital, which necessarily will produce inconvenience and losses to both parties. Agitation, legislation, and litigation will follow in quick succession; then will come evasions and more legislation, an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, and finally a combination and consolidation of both interests.

After a ten-year struggle it will be found that isolated State legislation cannot check the evil, because if products are to be delivered at New York, local legislation of the several States, unless uniform, cannot afford relief. After this has become manifest the General Government will be appealed to, and the local struggle will be nationalized. Agitation, legislation, evasion, and litigation will again follow, and Government will be urged to construct double-track road beds for the purpose of permitting every citizen to run a freight train under certain regulations as to speed, and on the payment of a moderate toll; and finally the Government here will have to do, what most governments on the continent have done, and what the English Government is about to do—take the railways at a valuation, and run them for the sole benefit and convenience of the people.

We know full well that it would be a waste of words to urge this remedy at this time. If the American nation is noted for one thing more than for all others, it is, that it will not accept the experience of other people in matters of tariffs, taxations, telegraphs, or railways, but that it insists in working out its own destiny. This is costly to be sure, but when we have once settled on a principle, drawn from our dear-bought experience, we hold on to it all the more intelligently and tenaciously.

We have no doubt but the farmers have the right on their side. The railways have of late given the least comfort, safety, and accommodation for the most money, and the sooner our railway princes discover that they cannot impose upon the community with perfect immunity the better.

Thus far the resolutions of the farmers have been earnest but temperate, and it would be well if the railway managers would come together, and inaugurate a friendly conference and measures to abate as many of the just grievances of the public as possible.

One of the great difficulties under

which all railways labor is the fact that the stock and mortgage bonds together represent a fictitious indebtedness. Many a railway, which could be built for \$25,000 to the mile and fully equipped, is crippled by an indebtedness of twice that sum per mile. This fictitious value must first be wiped out before relief can be obtained.

CHRISTIAN STATESMEN.—It seems to be the fashion just now for certain journals to couple with their comments on the shortcomings of certain public men a sneering allusion to "Christian statesmen." We fail to see the force of this fling at Christianity. If gentlemen who have hitherto borne the reputation of being upright public servants have failed in the public estimation in living up to the high standard fixed for them, the failure is not to be attributed to their Christian principles, but rather to a lack of such principles.

If the charges raised against them are true it shows that they were not "Christian statesmen;" therefore the fling at Christianity is out of place. If the charges are false, the fling is pointless, for neither the man nor his principles deserve censure.

No "Christian statesman" has fallen. None will fall. Men may wear the cloak of heaven to serve the devil in, and the keen eye of the public may detect the disguise and strip it from the hypocrite, and turn him out to receive the deserved scorn of the world. But these men were not Christians; and to attach their villainy to the church is as mean as it is unjust.

We have Christian statesmen in our country. They may not move in regiments or battalions, but they can be found on all hands. They are true men, sound to the core, with no moral rottenness or taint of suspicion about them. They come before us as Christian statesmen; they make good the title by their acts; they continue as such through long public service; they go down to the grave and take their place in history as Christian statesmen.

We want more such men. We should encourage their growth. We should make the Christian statesman the highest type, and endeavor to train our public officials to live up to the high standard.

Let us hear no more of these silly and senseless flings at "Christian statesmen." Unless we are ready to deny the power of Christianity in shaping the civilization of the world, we cannot afford to saddle upon it the faults and shortcomings of men who have failed to live up to its precepts.

THE CONVERSION OF THE NATIONAL LOAN.—The various cliques of brokers in the city of New York have taken unusual pains to obscure the question of the conversion of the six per cent. interest-bearing bonds into five per cents. The charge is that the Secretary, by allowing three months' interest on both the old and the new bonds, virtually paid one and one-quarter of one per centum premium to European bankers for negotiating said loan. Congress only allowed one-half of one per cent. for the payment of engraving, printing, and paper, and all other incidental expenses of bringing these bonds into the market; and, of course, no margin remained which would induce any one to take any interest in the conversion. If, then, the negotiation has cost us one and a quarter of one per cent., it is by far the most economical transaction of the kind that has ever taken place. The enemies of the plan have been unable to show that it was possible to negotiate these bonds for a less amount; and, since the difference of interest, amounting to one per cent., has been stopped forever, surely the payment of one and a quarter of one per cent.—which was only the additional interest for one year and a quarter—resulted in a very decided advantage to the Government. Considering the state of the European money market, this conversion, on these terms, was one of the most memorable financial achievements of our times.

## PRESIDENT GRANT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

**FELLOW-CITIZENS:** Under Providence, I have been called a second time to act as Executive over this great nation. It has been my endeavor in the past to maintain all the laws, and, so far as lay in my power, to act for the best interests of the whole people. My best efforts will be given in the same direction in the future, aided, I trust, by my four years' experience in the office.

When my first term of the office of Chief Executive began, the country had not recovered from the effects of a great internal revolution, and three of the former States of the Union had not been restored to their Federal relations. It seemed to me wise that no new questions should be raised so long as that condition of affairs existed; therefore, the past four years, so far as I could control events, have been consumed in the effort to restore harmony, public credit, commerce, and all the arts of peace and progress. It is my firm conviction that the civilized world is tending towards republicanism, or government by the people through their chosen representatives, and that our own great Republic is destined to be the guiding star to all others. Under our Republic we support an army less than that of any European power of any standing, and a navy less than that of either of, at least, five of them. There could be no extension of territory on this continent which would call for an increase of this force, but rather might such extension enable us to diminish it.

The theory of government changes with general progress. Now that the telegraph is made available for communicating thought, together with rapid transit by steam, all parts of a continent are made contiguous for all purposes of government, and communication between the extreme limits of the country made easier than it was throughout the old thirteen States at the beginning of our national existence.

The effects of the late civil strife have been to free the slave and make him a citizen. Yet he is not possessed of the civil rights which citizenship should carry with it. This is wrong, and should be corrected. To this correction I stand committed, so far as Executive influence can avail.

Social equality is not a subject to be legislated upon, nor shall I ask that anything be done to advance the social status of the colored man, except to give him a fair chance to develop what there is good in him; give him access to

schools, and when he travels let him feel assured that his conduct will regulate the treatment and fare he will receive.

The States lately at war with the General Government are now happily rehabilitated, and no Executive control is exercised in any one of them that would not be exercised in any other State under like circumstances.

In the first year of the past administration the proposition came up for the admission of Santo Domingo as a Territory of the Union. It was not a question of my seeking, but was a proposition from the people of Santo Domingo, and which I entertained. I believe now, as I did then, that it was for the best interests of this country, for the people of Santo Domingo, and all concerned, that the proposition should be received favorably. It was, however, rejected, constitutionally, and therefore the subject was never brought up again by me.

In future, while I hold my present office, the subject of acquisition of territory must have the support of the people before I will recommend any proposition looking to such acquisition. I say here, however, that I do not share in the apprehension held by many as to the danger of governments becoming weakened and destroyed by reason of their extension of territory. Commerce, education and rapid transit of thought and matter, by telegraph and steam, have changed all this. Rather do I believe that our Great Maker is preparing the world in his own good time to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will be no longer required.

My efforts in the future will be directed to the restoration of good feeling between the different sections of our common country, to the restoration of our currency to a fixed value as compared with the world's standard of values—gold—and if possible to a par with it; to the construction of cheap routes of transit throughout the land, to the end that the products of all sections may find a market and leave a living remuneration to the producer; to the maintenance of friendly relations with all our neighbors and with distant nations; to the reestablishment of our commerce and share in the carrying trade upon the ocean; to the encouragement of such manufacturing industries as can be economically pursued in this country, to the end that the exports of home products and industries may pay for our imports—the only sure method

of returning to and permanently maintaining a specie basis; to the elevation of labor, and by a humane course to bring the aborigines of the country under the benign influences of education and civilization. It is either this or war of extermination. Wars of extermination, engaged in by people pursuing commerce and all industrial pursuits, are expensive, even against the weakest people, and are demoralizing and wicked. Our superiority of strength and advantages of civilization should make us lenient toward the Indian. The wrong already inflicted upon him should be taken into account, and the balance placed to his credit. The moral view of the question should be considered, and the question asked: Cannot the Indian be made a useful and productive member of society by proper teaching and treatment? If the effort is made in good faith, we will stand better before the civilized nations of the earth, and in our own consciences for having made it.

All these things are not to be accomplished by one individual, but they will receive my support and such recommendations to Congress as will, in my judgment, best serve to carry them into effect. I beg your support and encouragement.

It has been, and is, my earnest desire to correct abuses that have grown up in the civil service of the country. To secure this reformation, rules regulating methods of appointment and promotion were established and have been tried. My efforts for such reformation shall be continued to the best of my judgment. The spirit of the rules adopted will be maintained.

I acknowledge before this assemblage, representing as it does every section of our country, the obligation I am under to my countrymen for the great honor they have conferred on me by returning me to the highest office within their gift, and the further obligation resting on me to render to them the best services within my power. This I promise, looking forward with the greatest anxiety to the day when I shall be released from the responsibilities that at times are almost overwhelming, and from which I have scarcely had a respite since the eventful firing upon Fort Sumter in April, 1861, to the present day. My services were then tendered and accepted, under the first call for troops growing out of that event. I did not ask for place or position, and was entirely without influence or the acquaintance of persons of influence, but was resolved to perform my part in a struggle threatening the very

existence of the nation. I performed a conscientious duty, without asking promotion or command, and without a revengeful feeling toward any section or individual.

Notwithstanding this, throughout the war, and from my candidacy for my present office in 1868 to the close of the late Presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equaled in political history, which to-day I feel that I can afford to disregard, in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication.

---

**RAILROADS INDEBTED TO UNCLE SAM.**—At the close of the war the United States owned a large amount of railway material and rolling-stock used on the roads throughout the South. This stock was sold at a low price, and the following-named railroad companies are still indebted to the Government for the material purchased:

Washington and Ohio; Alabama and Chattanooga; Edgefield and Kentucky; Indianola; Knoxville and Kentucky; McMinnville and Manchester; Mississippi; Gainesville and Tuscaloosa; Mobile and Ohio; Mississippi and Tennessee; Memphis, Clarksville and Louisville; Memphis and Little Rock; Nashville and Northwestern; Nashville and Decatur; Pacific Railroad of Missouri; Selma, Rome and Dalton.

The Government withholds payment of all mail and other Government transportation dues to these companies and applies the amount toward the extinguishment of their debts. This is in accordance with the terms of purchase.

---

**A READING PUBLIC.**—According to the census of 1870 there are in the United States 5,871 newspapers and periodicals. The copies annually issued number 1,508,548,250. Total circulation, 20,842,475. There are 574 daily publications, 107 tri-weekly, 115 semi-weekly, 4,295 weekly, 96 semi-monthly, 622 monthly, 13 bi-monthly, 49 quarterly. The total number are classified as follows: Advertising, 79; agricultural and horticultural, 93; benevolent and secret societies, 81; commercial and financial, 142; illustrated, literary, and miscellaneous, 503; devoted to nationality, 20; political, 4,333; religious, 407; sporting, 6; technical and professional, 207.

## THE NEW SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

On the 17th of March the President sent the following names to the Senate for confirmation, and they were confirmed on the same day:

William A. Richardson, Secretary of the Treasury.

George B. Williams, Attorney General.

Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State.

William W. Belknap, Secretary of War.

John A. J. Creswell, Postmaster General.

Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior.

Geo. M. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy.

Notwithstanding the many rumors with which the reporters confused the "metropolitan" press, we felt very confident that the President, with his usual sound judgment, would make the above selections. The capacity and fidelity of these gentlemen have been so fully tried that the nation can know with certainty that the same conservative policy will be followed during the next four years. Assailed on every point, their character came out of the ordeal like the purest gold, so that they now enjoy the full confidence of the people.

Judge William A. Richardson's walk of life having been somewhat secluded from the public gaze, as a lawyer, judge, and legal publicist, we herewith subjoin the following personal sketch. We have no doubt from what we know of him personally that his administration will be equal to that of his illustrious predecessor. We subjoin the following sketch which appeared in the *Washington Republican*:

"He was born in Tyngsborough, Mass., November 2, 1821. He comes from a truly lawyer family, as his father was a lawyer; he has two brothers who are lawyers, and his uncle, Hon. William M. Richardson, was chief justice of the supreme court of the State of New Hampshire. He was prepared for college at Lawrence Academy, and was graduated at Harvard in 1843, from which latter institution he received the degrees of M.A. and A.B. in 1846. On the 8th of July of the latter year he was admitted to the bar in Boston on motion of the late Gov. John A. Andrews, of Massa-

chusetts. He then settled in Lowell, and began the practice of his profession in company with his brother, the Hon. D. S. Richardson; was a member of the common council of Lowell in 1849, and member and president of the same in 1853 and 1854; was appointed aide-de-camp to Gov. Briggs, of Massachusetts, in 1850; was director of Appleton bank, of Lowell, from 1853 to 1859, and from 1867 to 1872; was president of the Wamasset bank, of Lowell, from 1859 to 1867; was one of the trustees and a member of the finance committee of the Lowell Five-Cent Savings bank, which is an institution of great importance, and has grown into leading prominence for twenty years, from 1853 to 1873; was president of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association for two years; was appointed in 1855, with Prof. Joel Parker and A. A. Richmond, to revise the general statutes of the Commonwealth. This was undoubtedly the most prominent feature of his life, and the results of the four years' arduous labor which these duties entailed were so satisfactory that he was selected to edit the revision, and it was then published in a large eleven-hundred page volume, entitled the "General Statutes of Massachusetts." The Legislature enacted it to be the code of the State, and in 1867 passed an act to employ him to edit the supplement to the code which was printed annually, and which at the end of 1872 was printed in another or second volume, also of eleven hundred pages, of the General Statutes. The stereotyped plates of these volumes were destroyed by the great fire in Boston last September, and the Legislature passed an act for their re-revision and compilation. Judge Richardson and Judge George P. Sanger were selected for this duty, and it has been but recently completed, the work having been done at night, after the completion for the day of his services as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. In April, 1856, he was appointed to be judge of the Probate Court of Middlesex county to succeed Judge S. P. P. Fay, who had held the office since before Judge Richardson's birth. In May, 1858, on the consolidation of the offices of judge of probate and judge of insolvency, he was appointed to the consolidated office, which he held until the spring of 1872, when he resigned to accept the office of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, which office he had previously filled, with the understanding that at any time he could vacate it and return to his

judgeship. While holding this judgeship he was selected as one of two judges on a commission to revise the blanks, forms and practice of courts of probate, which revision was subsequently adopted by the Supreme Court, and ordered to be used throughout the entire Commonwealth. He has been a member of the board of trustees of the Lawrence Academy since 1862; was twice elected, for six years each time, to be an overseer of Harvard College—the first time in 1863, by the Legislature, and the second time in 1869, under the new law, by the alumni. This office of honor, as well as responsibility, he still holds. In 1860 he removed his law office to Boston, and in 1863 his residence to Cambridge. In 1869 he was appointed to be a judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, which appointment he declined. In 1855 he published a volume entitled "The Banking Laws of Massachusetts," and in 1872, in Washington, another work entitled "Practical Information Concerning the Public Debt of the United States and National Bank-

ing Laws." This latter work was prepared last summer, while he was acting, in the absence of Mr. Boutwell, as Secretary of the Treasury. In 1865 he visited Europe, remaining for five months, and in 1867 for seven months. During these trips he visited all the usual points of interest in a European tour, and extended his travels so as to embrace visits to Russia and other leading countries. In June, 1871, he again visited Europe, by order of the Secretary of the Treasury, to negotiate a loan for the Government, which was successful, and he returned in March of the following year. During this time he placed \$76,000,000 of five per cent. bonds, and purchased the same amount of old bonds, which he brought back. At one time he deposited between sixteen and seventeen millions of dollars in the Bank of England, and was then its largest depositor. These enormous transactions were executed with such wonderful accuracy that not a cent in error was discovered when the accounts were closed."

### EUROPEAN REPUBLICANISM.

The recent peaceable political revolution in Spain is another step in the steady march of nations toward universal republicanism. By this is not meant the mere form of republican government, without its spirit and privileges; but that republicanism which brings to the people those political rights to which they were legitimately entitled, and which it is impossible to secure under any other form of political organization.

The general drift of public opinion is now tending in this direction. Its progress may be slow, but it is irresistible. "The mills of the gods grind slow," but surely. Politically "nations may be born in a day;" kings and emperors may be made to retire hastily from their palaces by a back way, and presidents may be conducted to their places in twenty-four hours. But without previous preparation for the change, by the people, it can scarcely be even hoped that the result would be either beneficial or permanent.

Republicanism appears to the world to-day like a rare and beautiful plant, admired for its sweetness and cherished for the richness of its fruit. Intelligent

and discriminating admirers naturally conceive the idea of transplanting it upon the soil of their own country. But it cannot be made to flourish and bear fruit until the ground has first been thoroughly prepared for its reception. In other words, there cannot be a strong republican government where the masses of the people are ignorant and incapable of comprehending or appreciating its blessings. Republicanism appeals directly to intelligence and reason for its support; and until a people are so far educated as to be capable of discriminating between the merits of republican and monarchial governments and institutions, it would be like casting pearls before swine to attempt to put the ballot-box into their hands.

For these reasons conservative statesmen here and elsewhere are slow to invest a very large amount of confidence in the permanency of republican France and Spain. Those demonstrations are rather accepted as significant indications of future results, and as marks of progress toward the ultimate grand consummation of liberal republicanism.

Among the educated portion of the

middle classes in Europe the principles of republican government are studied, understood, and appreciated; and from this source will come the forces that must ultimately retire kings and emperors from power, and make sovereigns of the people. The growth of republicanism among the better educated middle classes in England, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and other continental powers is healthy and vigorous, and it is only the measure of a few years before the people in many of those countries will be educated up to a full appreciation of the pure principles of government by and for the people, and when public opinion, guided by reason and governed by prudence, will sweep away the last vestiges of monarchial institutions as chaff before the wind. The belief pervades the public mind, both in Europe and America, that England will soon change its form of government in response to the will of the people. The Prince of Wales will probably wear the crown, but it will only be for a brief period. His coronation will be the signal for a general republican movement. Sir Charles Dilke and other English patriots are restrained from an onward movement only out of respect for the present occupant of the throne. The whole atmosphere of England is pregnant with republicanism, and eminent leaders are ready to give shape and direction at the proper time to a general movement for a republican form of government.

The principles of republicanism have taken root in the Prussian mind, and fruit is already being developed. Italy is filled with republican patriots; portions of Austria are already ripe for liberal government; Spain has just taken an important step forward, and Castelar and many of his political associates in the movement are as pure republican patriots as ever breathed the air of freedom. Portugal is restless, and wants to follow Spain in a political revolution. France is struggling for free government, but the barrier to her progress is the ignorance of the masses outside of

the great cities of the principles of government of any kind. France has made three unsuccessful attempts, in three-quarters of a century, to establish a republic upon her soil, and the fourth and more recent effort may also fail to secure to that people a pure and permanent republican government. But the boon cannot be much longer withheld from those who have struggled so persistently and paid so dearly for its possession.

The progress of republicanism in Europe is mainly due to the increase of information among the people in the middle ranks of society. The rights and obligations of man are becoming more generally understood. The right of constitutional liberty, free thought and speech, and a participation in the affairs of government are justly claimed to be due to every intelligent subject. This spirit of republicanism receives strength by a comparison of the oppressed and degraded condition of the masses under monarchial government in Europe with the free and elevated position of similar classes under free institutions in America. Thousands of Europeans in the United States are in weekly correspondence with relatives and friends at home. Comparisons are made of the number of hours of toil, the amount of wages received, and the privileges enjoyed in each country. The contrast is carefully noted and commented upon, and an uneasy feeling of discontent is created in the European mind, which gradually develops itself in a desire either to emigrate or to unite in an effort to improve the condition of public affairs at home. The spirit of peaceable revolution grows stronger and broader; the people become more intensely restless; dissatisfaction with the government grows deeper; political meetings are called—in most cases only to be suppressed by the authorities, and the leaders in the movement to be arrested and punished. The spirit of resistance continues, however, and grows stronger under renewed oppression, awaiting and watching for a turn in public events that will afford an opportunity for successful revolution.

This is to-day the condition of the public mind and the state of feeling among the thinking portion of the people in nearly every part of Europe. The time cannot be far distant when the development of well-laid schemes will shake the strongest Powers in the eastern hemisphere; and the movement once commenced in earnest will soon increase in strength and magnitude. Like the avalanche upon the mountain side, it will grow in magnitude, and augment its force as it moves onward, sweeping away before its resistless power dynasties, tyranny, and oppression, preparing a foundation for the up-building of political organizations more in harmony with the rights of humanity.

But progress will not be arrested here. Following close upon the general introduction of republican government in Europe, will come the fusion of the smaller Powers. In this, as in the introduction of republicanism itself, the American Union furnishes the motive-power and gives force to the movement. Twenty-seven of the minor European powers could be thrown together and still have a smaller territorial area than the thirty-seven States in the American Union. But a change so sweeping as to knock a score or more of the minor European governments into one grand republic is, perhaps, a little more than can be expected before the lapse of a century or two; yet, if the world moves at all, is it advancing in that direction. Steam, electricity, and common sense are doing the work. Education takes the lead in the onward march, sweeping away ignorance and popular prejudice, and laying the foundation for a liberal and less expensive system of government.

It is not possible to advance an argument than can be sustained against the fusion of nations and governments upon a republican basis. In fact, many of the most prudent thinkers of the nineteenth century are impressed with the sublime thought of the entire human brotherhood being ultimately gathered into one political household. Writers in both hemispheres have advanced this idea, and

enforced it by logical argument. In 1852 a correspondence, embracing this subject, occurred between the late Hon. Robert J. Walker, ex-Secretary of the United States Treasury, then in Europe, and Arthur Davies, a commander in the Royal Navy of England, whose scholarly attainments, large experience of the world, and progressive views gave him a high place in the public mind. The correspondence was published in pamphlet form, and had a wide circulation in Europe.

As bearing upon the subject under consideration in this article, there can be no impropriety in taking an extract from one of Mr. Walker's letters to Commander Davies. It is dated "London, January 12, 1852." After advertizing to the gradual fusion of nations, the writer says:

"Such a confederacy, embracing ultimately the whole earth, with one untaxed and unrestricted commerce, one language and one Christianity—all enlightened, educated, and trained in moral, scientific, political, and religious culture—each State, as under the Union, taking charge of all its own local concerns, and the general government, exercising but few powers, under specific provisions, would present *incalculable advantages for the advancement of the human race*.

"A confederacy of the whole world, when all were thus trained and educated, would be much more easy and simple than for any separate portion of it.

"Such a confederacy, based upon the principles of our Constitution, but extending to the whole earth, would have but little to do. It would have no armies or navies to maintain, because there would be no foreign nations against whom to make war; and because, as foretold in Holy Writ, all the implements of war would then disappear, and all knowledge of that destructive science then be forgotten. It would have no foreign relations to conduct, no treaties to make, no ambassadors to send or to receive, because there would be no foreign nations. It would have no tariffs, because there would be no foreign states on which to impose them, for all would be members of a common union, with free trade, of course, among the whole, as is now the case among the various States of our confederacy. The confederate government might provide a common currency, a common system of weights and measures, and nearly all

other matters might be left, as with us, to the local legislation of the several states. The general Congress might have to meet perhaps once in every ten or twenty years, with brief sessions; the duties of the executive would be few and simple; its annual expenses would not exceed ten millions of dollars, instead of thousands of millions of dollars that are now yearly expended in supporting separate governments, leaving the immense residuum to be devoted to the arts of peace and progress. Experience with us has shown that, under a confederate republic, the number of States create no difficulty in carrying on the government; on the contrary, they increase the reciprocal interest, commerce, and benefits of the Union.

"Nor does distance interpose any obstacle, as shown by the facility with which our States in the remote West—including those upon the Pacific, at more than double the distance from our Capitol as is your country—are happily governed under a confederate union. But steamers upon the ocean, railroads and electric telegraphs on the land, and submarine, (with doubtless other progressive improvements,) are annihilating distance and bringing nations into immediate proximity with each other. It is clear that if the people of the whole earth were as well fitted for this union as those of our own present States, it would be quite as easy, and much more beneficial, to unite the whole in one confederacy, with perfect harmony of interest, commerce, and institutions, than to disunite any portion of such a race from another by separate governments. Union and harmony we see in all the works of the Almighty, and mankind will best promote their own true interests when, in humble imitation of these divine principles, we apply them, with the progress of light and knowledge, to the whole of the world we inhabit. Repulsion, discord, antagonism, separation of men and nations, mark the past history of our race, and constitute a record of wars and crimes and misery. Whereas the union of all into one confederacy can alone terminate all rival interests and contests, and produce that universal peace, concord, and happiness of our whole race foretold in prophecy.

"This, however, is a state of things which can only exist after the lapse of centuries, and after a great change in the condition of the world. The Almighty, in controlling the destinies of nations, does not work by any sudden movements. His changes are gradual and progressive, but all tending, by successive steps, to one great end."

Whether the change in public opinion now going on in Europe in favor of republican principles will ultimately lead to the results contemplated by this writer, is a problem for future generations to solve. It is fair, however, to infer that public opinion in Europe, and even in Asia, is influenced largely by the example afforded in the success of republicanism in North America. The United States Government exercises today a potent influence over the entire civilized world. No close observers of national movements are more sensibly influenced by this fact than the leading statesmen of Europe. Every political movement in the United States is watched, weighed with care, and carefully examined in all its bearings upon the economy of the world. In proof of this fact, note the language of that eminent patriot, Don Emilio Castelar, now Secretary of State of the Spanish Republic. On the 6th of July, 1871, in a speech in the Cortes on religious liberty, slavery, and other national subjects, he said:

"Nations are like bee-hives. Each nation contributes to fabricate the honey of universal life. Ideas, wherever scattered, change the human conscience. When from our narrow horizon we turn our eyes to the whole planet, we see that the continents are ruled by universal and contestable laws. Asia is the immovable land of the past, the patriarchal land of the empires, the theocracies, the castes. *Europe is the volcanic land of the present*, the arena of combat between the ancient powers and the new ideas. America, and especially Saxon America, with its immense virgin territories; with its republic; with its equilibrium between stability and progress; with its harmony between liberty and democracy, is the continent of the future—the immense continent stretched by God between the Atlantic and the Pacific, where mankind may plant, essay, and resolve all said problems. (Loud cheers.) The present moment is supreme and anguishing. The last years of the nineteenth century may be as grave and as solemn as the last years of the eighteenth century, in which was installed the first French revolution. Europe has to decide whether she will confound herself with Asia—placing upon her lands old altars, and upon the altars old idols,

and upon the idols immovable theocracies, and upon the theocracies despotic empires, or whether she will go by labor, by liberty, and by the republic, to collaborate with America in the grand work of universal civilization."

To us in America these words have a significant and a solemnly suggestive meaning. They tell us in plain language

that the world's progress in the future will be largely influenced by the republicanism of the United States; that success here will mould public opinion and accelerate republican movements elsewhere, while failure in our mission, as a nation, will retard the progress of civilization throughout the world.

### INTERESTING FACTS FROM THE CENSUS OF 1870.

The census of 1870 shows the total population of the United States to be 38,925,598, divided as follows:

Whites.....	33,592,245
Colored .....	4,886,387
Chinese.....	63,254
Indians.....	382,712

California has a large share of Chinese. Out of a population of 582,031, 49,310 are Chinese, and 29,025 Indians.

The seven largest States are:—

New York.....	4,382,759
Pennsylvania.....	3,521,951
Ohio.....	2,665,260
Illinois.....	2,539,891
Missouri.....	1,721,295
Indiana.....	1,680,637
Massachusetts.....	1,457,351

The seven largest cities are:—

New York.....	942,292
Philadelphia.....	674,022
Brooklyn.....	396,099
St. Louis.....	310,864
Chicago.....	298,977
Baltimore.....	267,354
Boston.....	250,526

The native population of the United States numbers 32,991,142; foreign born, 5,567,229.

The largest number of foreigners is in the State of New York—1,138,353. The smallest number is in North Carolina—3,029.

There are in the United States 4,528,084 persons ten years of age and over who cannot read, and 5,658,144 who cannot write.

Of this latter number 4,880,271 are native, and 777,873 foreign born.

The total number of schools in the

United States is 141,629; requiring the services of 221,042 teachers. Female teachers exceed in number the males.

There are 93,329 male, and 127,713 female teachers employed. The pupils number 7,209,938; there being 34,054 more male pupils than female. Of the total number of schools given above, 125,059 are public schools; the balance are private, or better known as pay, schools.

The colleges number 467; employing 2,895 teachers, and the pupils number 56,120. The aggregate income of these colleges, from endowment and other sources, amounts to \$3,176,717.

The total number of libraries in 1870 was 164,815, containing 45,528,933 volumes. Of these, 107,673 were private libraries, containing 25,571,503 volumes. The Congressional Library at Washington numbers 190,000 volumes.

There are 5,871 newspapers and periodicals in the United States, and the aggregate number of copies issued annually is estimated at 1,508,548,250. The total circulation numbers 20,842,475.

The church organizations of the United States number 72,459; the number of edifices 63,082, with sittings for 21,665,062. The value of the church property is \$354,483,581. The Methodists own 21,337 church edifices, with property valued at \$69,854,121. The Catholics own 3,806 church edifices, while their property is valued at \$60,985,566. The Presbyterians rank next, numbering 7,071 churches, with property valued at \$53,265,256. Then follow the Baptists, 13,962 churches, with property valued at \$41,608,198; the Episcopalians, 2,601 churches, with property valued at \$36,514,549; the Congrega-

tionalists, 2,715 churches, and property valued at \$25,069,698.

The number of paupers supported during the year ending June 1, 1870, was 116,102.

The number of persons convicted and sentenced for crime during the same period was 36,562.

The total area of land in the United States in 1870 was 3,603,884 square miles. Texas has the largest area, 274,356 square miles; and Rhode Island the smallest, 1,306 square miles. California has an area of 188,981 square miles; Nevada, 104,125; Oregon, 95,274; Minnesota, 83,531; Kansas, 81,318; Nebraska, 75,995; Missouri, 65,350; Florida, 59,268; Georgia, 58,000; Michigan, 56,451; Illinois, 55,410; Iowa, 55,045; New York, 47,000. Massachusetts is the most densely populated State, having 186.84 persons to a square mile, while Nevada has but 0.41 to same area.

The largest Territory in the possession of the United States is Alaska, having an area of 577,390 square miles, and the smallest is the District of Columbia, having an area of only 64 square miles.

**POSTAGE.**—By the terms of recent legislation, the franking privilege is abolished, and it is provided that, "All laws, and parts of laws, permitting the transmission by mail of any free matter whatever, be, and the same are hereby, repealed, from and after June 30, 1873." This cuts off the free exchange of newspapers between publishers, and the free circulation of papers within the counties of publication.

No changes in the rates of postage have been made, and, consequently, postage charges will be as follows:

#### LETTERS.

To all parts of the United States, three cents per half ounce.

#### PAPERS, MAGAZINES, ETC.

Pamphlets, occasional publications, transient newspapers, magazines, hand-bills, posters, unsealed circulars, prospectuses, book manuscripts, proof-sheets, corrected proof-sheets, maps, prints, en-

gravings, blanks, flexible patterns, sample cards, phonographic paper, letter envelopes, postal envelopes and wrappers, cards, plain and ornamental paper, photographic representations of different types, seeds, cuttings, bulbs, roots, and scions, can be transmitted through the mails at the rate of one cent for each two ounces or fraction thereof.

Books, two cents for each two ounces or fraction thereof. Samples of merchandise, metals, ores, and mineralogical specimens can pass through the mails in packages not exceeding twelve ounces, at the rate of two cents for each two ounces or fraction thereof; to be left open at the ends for examination, and to contain no writing other than the address.

All liquids, poisons, glass, explosive materials, obscene books, and all other matter liable to injure the mails or those having charge thereof, shall be excluded therefrom.

#### REGULAR PUBLICATIONS.

Newspapers sent by mail must be prepaid by stamps, unless "regularly issued and sent to regular subscribers" by publishers or newsdealers, when the following rates are charged, payable quarterly in advance, either at the mailing or delivery office:

Dailies.....	35 cents.
Six times a week.....	30 cents.
Tri-weeklies.....	15 cents.
Semi-weeklies.....	10 cents.
Weeklies.....	5 cents.
Semi-monthly, not over 4 ozs....	6 cents.
Monthly, not over 4 ozs.....	3 cents.
Quarterlies, not over 4 ozs.....	1 cent.

Newspapers and circulars dropped into the office for local delivery must be prepaid at the rate of one cent for two ounces, and an additional rate for every additional two ounces or fraction thereof; and periodicals weighing more than two ounces are subject to two cents, prepaid at all letter-carrier offices.

The postage on regular papers, &c., must be paid in advance, either at the place of delivery, to the carrier, or at the office, otherwise they will be chargeable at transient rates.

**BOOK MANUSCRIPT.**

Book manuscript passing between authors and publishers requires prepayment at the rate of one cent for each two ounces or fraction thereof.

Manuscript intended for publication in newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, &c., is subject to letter rates of postage.

**GENERAL RULES.**

Full prepayment by stamps required on all transient printed matter, foreign and domestic.

All letters not prepaid by stamps, all such as are received in the office with stamps cut from stamped envelopes, or with such postage stamps as were in use prior to 1861, or with revenue stamps on them, are treated "as unmailable" and sent to the Dead-Letter Office.

Letters which have not been delivered can be forwarded, without additional charge, upon a written request.

Letters once delivered from a post office cannot be remailed without prepayment of postage.

Departmental postage after June 30, 1873, will be prepaid by special stamps, prepared and furnished by the Post Office Department.

It will, nevertheless, become important for correspondents of the several departments and bureaus to fully prepay their postage after the 30th of June next. Of course, the local officers and agents of the departments will be instructed to this effect.



**MINISTERIAL CRISIS IN ENGLAND.**—English institutions are always full of interest to American statesmen. Our common law principles, our parliamentary precedents and rules, as well as our constitutional theories are almost solely derived from Great Britain, which certainly is the freest Great Power upon the European continent. The framers of the Federal Constitution studied the political institutions of England so thoroughly, and with so much discernment, that they were able to avoid very many of the errors and weaknesses contained in their model.

During the abnormal condition of

national politics, when Andrew Johnson so stubbornly defied the national will, there were many who, without further consideration, proclaimed that the English system of ministerial responsibility to the House of Commons was preferable to the absolute independence of the American Executive and his ministry—modified only by the *dernier* resort of an impeachment trial. Yet the ministerial troubles in England, which are just beginning, will demonstrate that the American Constitution, which provides for a permanent Executive policy for four years, is greatly superior to the English system.

A hereditary sovereign as an ornament, and a governing ministry, dependent upon the will of a majority of the House of Commons, has hitherto been perfectly practicable, because English politics were divided into two political parties—Whig and Tory—and when one was voted down the other had an undoubted majority.

But the extension of the suffrage to large numbers of mechanics and to others identified with the workingman's interest, has created a third party of "Independents" and "Radicals," who are neither Whig nor Tory. This class has hitherto supported Gladstone's ministry notwithstanding he did not go far enough in their direction; and, in endeavoring to comply with their demands, Gladstone has several times been in danger of losing his aristocratic supporters.

The defeat of the Irish University bill was, therefore, the occasion rather than the cause of Mr. Gladstone's resignation. To escape the infliction of Tory rule the Liberals would have gladly united on a vote of confidence, but Gladstone knows too well how deep seated and radical are the differences between the old Whig and independent wings of his heterogeneous party to continue in office in circumstances so embarrassing. Mr. Gladstone has been worn out in endeavors to hold on to his majority, and has displeased large numbers of both wings.

The Tories, on the other hand, find that though they are accidentally in the

majority on the Irish University question, they are in a hopeless minority upon all other questions, and, therefore, refuse to take the responsibility of forming a government with an acknowledged minority of supporters in the House of Commons.

Of course the present difficulty will be tided over, either by the forced return of Gladstone or by the formation of a temporary coalition cabinet; but the underlying question of parliamentary rule is one presenting very grave difficulties to the statesman. In other words, if Parliament is composed of three or more political parties of diverse views that choose to coalesce frequently against the minority in power, in what manner can the executive functions of the administration be discharged? Surely no one would recommend a change of ministry every week or month, because it would be impossible for England to have either a fixed foreign or domestic policy, and no one in particular would be held responsible. A coalition ministry with all its dissensions and weaknesses, like that of Mr. Gladstone, is an evil at best; and as, by every election, the number of "independents" and "radicals" grows more numerous, the English nation will be compelled to abandon the practice of changing the *personnel* of the administration whenever one of its measures is defeated.

England will be compelled by events to adopt the American system of permanent ministers during the life of each Parliament, whose measures and policy shall be subjected to independent criticism, and to adoption or rejection, as may please the House of Commons. An adverse vote of the House will only cause a change of policy, but not of men, for otherwise government in England will become a byword among nations.

Since the above was written Gladstone has returned to power, and this will constitute the first precedent in the future for the practice of the ministry remaining over as long as the majority supports its policy generally, though particular measures may fail.

THE AMERICAN PRESS AND THE AMERICAN CITIZEN.—The American, resident in the United States, is now one of forty millions of countrymen. Each voter is one of ten millions of adult men, entitled to suffrage, to be heard in the witness stand, to be admitted to the jury-box, and possibly to places of official trust. But Americans look forward to the day when each citizen will be one of four hundred millions, and each voter one of a hundred millions.

Do we sufficiently consider what it is for numbers of men so vast and so diverse by nature and situation to decide a principle of government or to elect a ruler? Would such a manifestation of choice be possible in China?

How vast the interest involved in any national question for a people so enormous in numbers! How great the intelligence demanded, how good the intention required to assure a correct and beneficial solution! Each voter must decide not merely for himself, but for the whole.

We find everywhere in history how clearly it was believed that monarchical rulers should be informed; how skillful educators were sought for the coming monarch of a great people; how museums and all aids to culture were employed for his training and information. The king could command all service required for the State. All must tell him the truth. But every American voter is, indeed, a sovereign in the decision of any special political question, so far as his vote counts among the millions.

In either case, if monarch or citizen, the result depends upon adequate information, good intention, and appropriate action. The moral accountability in each case remains. Now, the period of youth passed and its culture accomplished, the great instrumentality upon which the American citizen, in these vast responsibilities, under these difficult conditions, must depend for information to found his opinions, choices, and actions, is the Press. He may travel and observe, but he can neither be

ubiquitous nor remember all he has seen and heard. Books may help him, but, after all, the current movements of his ideas and action must depend upon the journalistic press. Should it not be the ambition of the American press to hold itself responsible to tell these sovereign American citizens the truth?

Should he not have the power and right to compel an honest service? Nay, should he be required to accept any other service? since it is rendered on his payment—that is, himself and the public, of which he is one, are its pecuniary supporters.

But what are the facts? No doubt there are enlisted in the service of the newspaper press multitudes of most capable and honest writers and publishers. None are more capable, none render a better service. But the rapid growth of the press has been attended with much boasting in certain quarters. Many injurious motives and practices have crept into its management. Had there been more general care for its wise use, less evils would have followed.

We stand now at a point in our political progress when many facts especially suggestive on this subject are patent to the public. Out of the general boasting of the power of the press to make or destroy men, a few leading papers conceived the idea that by their own power they could destroy one President and make another for the American people. Through one set of men on the surface they conducted one convention in Cincinnati, and through another set of men a Democratic convention in Baltimore. No doubt there were behind and in this movement certain limited elements of patriotism and honesty; but the controlling powers were directly the opposite; and soon thereafter it seemed as if honesty and wisdom were abandoned and every other appliance brought into requisition, of organization, meetings, speeches, documents, corruption, and falsification. A perversion of facts and false descriptions of character were their great reliance. Look at the mountain of their filth and falsehood, which

they threw at General Grant. How they laid their schemes by seeking to effect a perversion of facts through Senatorial examinations, hoping to destroy the candidates of the Republican party, and robed in its old thrown-off clothes, to elect themselves.

Now the whole country, even their own *cliquers*, no longer under pay, are confessing—nay, are declaring—these things of the Liberal movement. Supreme selfish and corrupt, its press sought to make it appear all self-abnegation and divinely honest. General Grant, the man chiefly reviled, because most in their way, is turning out, according to the judgment of the people, a second Washington, made in a larger mould, for larger armies and a more numerous people.

A great journalist, who had a place near the heart and conscience of the American people, because, whatever else they thought of him, they believed him sincere, we have seen fall into the false movement and go down into its shadows. The lesson should not be perverted nor lost upon the American press or the American citizen.

---

PROTECTION TO EMIGRANTS.—Hon. Z. Chandler, the chairman of the Committee of Commerce, introduced a resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the Senate, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to cause a chemical analysis to be made of the atmosphere which emigrants are compelled to breathe between decks; also to report upon the superficial square feet of space which they are permitted to occupy, and to investigate their treatment on board ship generally, and to report what legislation is necessary to secure the better protection to emigrants *in transitu*.

Much attention has been paid to the two hundred and fifty thousand Indians that roam in the western wilds, while but little notice is taken of the gross injustice and impositions endured by the three hundred thousand emigrants that annually land on our shores. These people are ignorant of our customs and

laws, and very generally unable to speak the English language, and even in a more helpless condition than the sturdy Indians, used to privations, and able to retreat into the interior.

No pen can describe the horrors of the middle passage on an overcrowded ship. Let our readers imagine, if they can, six hundred human beings confined in the lower or second deck, where daylight is vainly trying to struggle through apertures about ten inches in circumference, and six feet apart, closed up with glass plates several inches thick.

The six hundred bodies lie contiguous in berths six feet long by twenty-two inches wide, and in two tiers. There are four berths fastened to each side of the ship, about two feet from the floor, and four berths above them, about thirty inches above the lower berths, and there remains about two feet of space above. A four or five foot passage divides the row of side berths from those in the centre, where we find eight berths again. On the other side of the ship is a similar passage and eight berths. Thus we have *thirty-two* bodies in a space of six feet long by the width of the ship—say forty to forty-five feet. In other words, a bedroom 12 by 12 contains thirty-two human beings at night, and in bad weather for perhaps twenty-four or forty-eight hours.

The bill submitted by the Treasury Department for the adoption of Congress, provided that these thirty-two adult persons (no cognizance being taken of children under two years, and all children under twelve years counting only as half passengers) should have at their disposal a space equal to a room of 22x22 feet; and this provision was denounced on the floor of the House by Messrs. Wood, Cox, Potter, and other Democratic representatives as a space of unreasonable extravagance.

But this is only the beginning of the emigrant's misery. As nine-tenths of them are on the high seas for the first time, almost the entire number become sea-sick, and an unintermittent retching and upheaving by perhaps fifty persons

at the same time is taking place, until the slime upon the floor is an inch deep. The poison which is thus inhaled has the most serious consequences upon the health of the victims. Some die on board ship; others go to the hospital on landing, while a number are affected in health for months and years.

Nor does our emigrant population suffer alone from physical disease. The demoralization consequent upon this over-crowding of a heterogeneous mass of people of both sexes and of all ages, is frightful. The exhibition of sexual brutality is so fearful that it cannot be characterized in language. Profanity and singing of lewd songs are always in order. But where is the ship's police? The well-paid higher officers remain away, while three or four superannuated sailors at low wages assist in cleaning up and keeping order, in case it should come to blows. We have before us a volume written by a Catholic priest who three years ago visited the United States, and who in most eloquent terms beseeches Catholic Christians to spend their last dollar for a berth in the second cabin in preference to risking the loss of health, and the contamination of the morals of the family in this cess-pool of misery and reckless profanity.

After landing, the emigrant is compelled to find his way, in overcrowded and filthy emigrant cars over our wide continent as best he may, and in as long or short a time as it suits the railway monopolies to convey him.

No officer with authority to give the emigrant protection, aid, or advice, is stationed anywhere upon this long route. No act is upon the statute books that authorizes the Government to give him succor, or to shield him from oft-practiced imposition. Yet when a measure was before Congress to correct these crimes against civilization, all the Democrats, trusting to the ignorance of their foreign supporters, aided by a few Republicans, sent the bill to the committee of the whole, to sleep the sleep that knows no waking.

However, we have every reason to expect that the next Congress will reconsider the whole subject, and we presume that, in obedience to the Senate's resolution, the Treasury Department will inaugurate a thorough investigation.

**PRIVATE VERSUS POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS.**—The publication of the results of an official examination, instituted in accordance with law by the Comptroller of the Currency, of those of the savings banks of the District of Columbia which had been organized under Congressional charters, caused a considerable panic among depositors, and a run lasting some days on one of the institutions.

It is not our intention to discuss the question whether the depositors acted wisely or not, but to call public attention at this time to the fact that panics and failures are unavoidable incidents to private savings institutions. The large per cent. of failures which have occurred have not only involved the most worthy and deserving classes of our population into great and sometimes irreparable losses, but have discouraged others from frugality by their example. The mechanic and laborer who slowly lays up a few hundreds of dollars against a rainy day, representing very many self-sacrifices, is not likely to begin anew, when the surplus proceeds of many years of toil and prudence are swept away in a single day.

Great Britain has now in successful operation a system of postal savings banks, which ought to be incorporated into our postal organization as speedily as possible. The advantages of Government postal savings banks—(no more panics and no more losses to individuals under any circumstances)—are so decided that a correct understanding of their benefits alone is needed to secure their adoption.

The farmer, mechanic, laborer, and apprentice—in fact all classes that have no occasion to open a business account with banks, could deposit with the village or city postmaster their savings,

from a dime upwards, and receive four per cent. interest on the same. The Government, after keeping on hand a working surplus, would invest the permanent surplus in five and six per cent. bonds, and thus reimburse itself for its expenses.

In case the depositor desired a transfer of his funds from Maine to Florida or Oregon, he would only have to surrender his certificate of deposit and take a transfer order to the postmaster of the vicinity where he purposes to use the money; and thus safety, a moderate interest, and transferability without charge could be secured to all; together with a cheap loan to the Government.

Let us have no more panics and savings banks failures, by the adoption of the postal savings bank system, which will induce thousands of young men to practice prudence and frugality. Objections to the system will only be made by those who profit by the deposits of the poor, and very often betray their trusts. The primary mission of the Government, however, is to protect and encourage the weak, and not to give special privileges to the wealthy to increase their power over the working classes.

**LUCKY MEN.**—There are thousands of persons who believe in luck. They are generally unfortunate themselves, or, as they call it, unlucky. They feel themselves sinking and see their neighbors rising, all through luck. They were born unlucky, and, believing this, they make no particular effort to stem the tide which sets against them, and so drift into hopeless failure. They watch the successful man to see what this mythical Goddess of Fortune bestows upon him, but fail to note the amount of labor which he renders to secure the golden blessings of the goddess. Success to their eyes is nothing but luck. Energy, ambition, resolution, are worthless, unless the lucky star shines upon their possessor. If these idle dreamers would seek for the true cause of success, they would find it in hard work, patient application, steady, uncompromising labor. There is no

such thing as luck. A happy combination of circumstances, brought about nine times out of ten by a man's own industry, is too often mistaken for good luck. Some men grow rich; everything they touch seems to turn into gold; but if we watch these men closely we shall find that it needs more than a touch to secure gold. We shall find them to be, as a class, men of good judgment, sagacious, untiring in their labors, deserving success by the persistency with which they follow it up. Wealth never comes to the idler. Misdirected energy may fail to secure it, but if it comes at all it must be deserved or won by some special effort. If the young man just facing the world desires to be successful, he must make up his mind that he is the master of his own fortune; that good luck is nothing more than the results of his own labor, the natural reward of honest and patient toil. Examine the lives of successful men, and not a drone can be found among them. They won success because they deserved it, and deserved it because they worked hard to obtain it.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL AS SENATOR.—While regretting that we have not a second Boutwell to place at the head of the Treasury Department, we are rejoiced that he has been sent to the Senate, where his experience as a Cabinet officer, his strength of character, unquestioned integrity, and oratorical ability, will enable him to take a leading position.

We hope the new Senator will, during the summer recess, take up the great questions of the necessity and propriety of extending the administrative functions of the Federal Government, because they cannot be much longer ignored, and it is of great importance both to himself and the country that he shall advocate the side of protection to the people from the ever-increasing encroachments of organized capital; regulations for the better protection of passengers, and even cattle, on railways; regulation of fares and freight charges;

postal savings banks and postal telegraph—are only a few of the topics with which statesmen of the first order must very soon deal.

Very few public men have ever entered the Senate, whose political future was regarded with so much hopeful interest as that of Mr. Boutwell, and we fully believe that the just expectations of the public will be realized, for he is not likely to forget that the welfare of the masses should be the first care of government.

---

#### BREVITY OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

—Brevity of newspaper articles is the higher law which but few writers are bold enough to transgress. Brevity of speech is undoubtedly a desirable quality, and yet, like all good systems, it is liable to abuse. Newspaper readers have become so spoiled that they have not the courage to attack a two-column article, and thus the gravest and most vital questions of the day are dispatched in epigrammatic sentences of a dozen lines. This system is producing the most serious consequences. Our people are becoming knowing, but utterly superficial, for it is not within human possibility to discuss any important question—political, religious, or scientific—with in the limits usually allowed to a newspaper article. It seems to us that the rule needs modification, and that it should be to write no more than is absolutely essential to fully and fairly state the case, nor to write upon a subject not worthy of public attention, but never to stop short of a full and particular statement even if it involves a continuation in the next number.

The great want of our times is profound, original, and careful thinkers; and men can only become such when they acquire the habit of noting the limitations of abstract principles, and of stating the case with legal particularity. The projection of the outlines of a castle is easy only when built in the clouds. It involves the measurement to the quarter of an inch of each door, staircase, and casement when it is actu-

ally constructed. And thus, dealing in glittering generalities may content the unthinking, but the habitual indulgence therein leads, like the *ignus fatuus*, into the quagmire of error. Never shrink from reading a long article simply because it is long, if it has intrinsic merits and gives you important information. Reading for the purpose of learning is a task which should be performed with the same care as other duties are discharged, and if it is neglected great evils will be the inevitable consequence.

---

**THE INAUGURAL IN GERMANY.**—When the telegraphic synopsis of the inaugural address of President Grant reached Germany, that passage therein which expresses the confident conviction that all the people of the earth are drawing nearer to republican institutions, excited the wrath of some of the monarchical journals, and one of them exclaimed, in its rage, that diplomatic relations should immediately be abandoned with a government whose Chief Executive was guilty of such insulting remarks. Of course the German Government cannot be held responsible for this unseemly ebullition, and we only cite it as another evidence of the feelings of alarm and aversion with which our Republic is regarded.

Since the war, Prussia has become an *absolute* military despotism. The government has interfered so far with the liberty of the press, that the journals which published the allocution of the Pope, though with hostile comments, were confiscated; and the prestige of the United States as a great nation alone prevented the pursuit of a similar course against those papers that dared to publish the President's inaugural.

While schoolmasters are starving at a salary of from one hundred and twenty to two hundred dollars per year, the annual expenditure demanded for every private soldier is three hundred and twenty Prussian thalers. The peace establishment is fixed at four hundred thousand men, which costs one hundred and twenty-eight millions of thalers, or

about one hundred millions of dollars in gold, besides the extra expenditures for armament, fortifications, and the navy.

Quite recently, the minister of war and president of the cabinet informed the second Prussian chamber that the Prussian cabinet derives its power solely from the will of the monarch, and that all interference with the constitution or *personnel* of the cabinet on their part was inadmissible; and yet, the German press in America, dazzled by the late success in the French war, never tires of repeating the praises of William, sung by the monarchical press of Europe.

We repeat it, that forms are only shadows in the absence of the substance; and that the Prussian Parliament is absolutely powerless, and has not a constable to enforce its will against the crown. It is, therefore, only a debating school, whose deliberations the government will adopt when the results are acceptable; and, as a matter of expediency, the government is too wise to pick a needless quarrel about minor matters. But whenever the Emperor desires the adherence to a certain line of policy, the chambers must either yield gracefully, or they will be sent home and disciplined like unruly school-boys.

We note this state of affairs thus particularly because some intelligent men have fallen into the error of ascribing inherent power to the Prussian Parliament, while, in point of fact, it is simply an assemblage of persons who are permitted to advise the government upon such measures as the government may lay before them, but who must, upon all important questions, side with the government, or else their advice is contemptuously rejected.

---

WE notice that only four New England representatives voted for the \$5,000 back pay measure—all of them from Massachusetts, viz.: Oakes Ames, Benjamin F. Butler, N. P. Banks, and Ginney Twichell. The members of the States of New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island, where elections were pending, voted in solid phalanx against it, and we opine that had elections been pending in other States the measure would never have been seriously entertained.